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MISSIONS AND MODERN HISTORY

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MISSIONS AND MODERN HISTORY

A Study of the Missionary Aspects of Some Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century

By

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Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

In two volumes

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The Tong Hak Insurrection

VII

THE TONG HAK INSURRECTION

AT the same time that the Tai-ping Rebellion was ravaging the Yang-tse Valley, proclaiming a monotheistic religion free of all idolatry, and protesting against the corruption of the Government, there arose in Korea a movement of very similar character, but so totally independent of it that it may be doubted if the Tong Haks had ever heard of the Tai-pings. Yet like them, they proposed a religious reformation, and the influence which dominated the new conception was at the beginning at least, the influence of the Christian movement upon Asia as represented in the Roman Catholic mission in Korea. As with the Tai-pings, the movement began as a purely religious reform, and only later because of the oppression of corrupt officials, took a political direction. Its founder, unlike Hung Siu-tsuen, had no imperial dreams. For forty-five years it pursued its course, and then, in 1894, broke out into an insurrection whose consequences we shall trace, finding in them some of the most significant events of the last century.

It is impossible not to feel a sense of deep pity for a movement like this of the Tong Haks. It is one of many movements of men whose minds have expanded to take in a new thought, who have struggled hopelessly with the social conditions which held them, and have accepted persecution and death and failed, without even the consolation of knowing that the world has watched them and will remember them. There must have been scores of such movements in the unrecorded history of Asia during the centuries that have passed.

Aside from the interesting features of the Tong Hak movement itself and the great consequences that flowed from it, we should be concerned to know about it because we have been as a people related in a peculiar way to Korea. It is the one Asiatic nation, prior to

our participation in the relief of Peking, with which we have waged war, and our country was the first of Western nations to secure a treaty with her. For generations we have felt a special interest in the land. In 1845 it was voted by Congress that "immediate measures be taken for effecting commercial arrangements with the empire of Japan and the Kingdom of Korea." Nothing was done, however, to carry this resolution into effect in the case of Korea, Commander Perry scarcely mentioning Korea in his narrative of his great treaty expedition. Indeed Korea was in no mood for foreign intercourse. The same year that Congress voted to effect commercial arrangements with Korea, a Korean named Kim was put to death in Seoul "for communicating with the Western barbarians."

Our first contact with the people was in 1866, when an American schooner, *Surprise*, was wrecked on the coast. The crew were treated hospitably, supplied with clothing and food, and sent through Manchuria to New-chwang. In the fall of the same year occurred the affair of the *General Sherman*, a merchant schooner which sailed up the Ta-tong River ostensibly for trade, but under circumstances which aroused suspicion. Its crew soon got into difficulties with the people and were killed, while the ship was totally destroyed. The following year an American organized a piratical expedition to pilfer the royal tombs of Korea, but it returned, happily unsuccessful, to Shanghai. In 1871, an armed expedition was sent to attempt to negotiate a treaty. The matter was handled without tact, and a needless conflict was precipitated, which resulted in the loss of three Americans and about four hundred Koreans, and the useless capture of the ports at the mouth of the River Han. The only consequence of the war was to confirm the hostile feeling of the Koreans, and to give them increased contempt for the barbarians who came on futile expeditions of piracy or robbery, or on expeditions to avenge the failure of the pirates and robbers which met with the same fate. In 1882, Japan having six years before by the pursuit of Perry's wise tactics made treaties with Korea, the Western nations, by Japan's influence, succeeded at last in breaking through the walls of isolation, and opening Korea to the world.[1] Our past relations with Korea accordingly, ended well, but they included some disreputable proceedings and they have placed us under a debt of sympathy and in-

[1] Griffis, *Korea, The Hermit Nation*, Chs. XLIV–XLVI.

terest to Korea which forbids our passing by an episode in history like the Tong Hak uprising.

But in any event a movement like this is the most fascinating and significant of all subjects of study. It shows us new ideas working into minds hampered by the traditions of centuries. It shows us the curious compromises which these ideas make with older notions. It testifies to the power of truth even though partial and perverted to compel men to endure and to suffer. It indicates the practical nature of religious ideas. They are bound to affect life and custom and institution. And it shows us also that while a movement like this may die, failing utterly both in its primary and in its derivative purpose, the results at which it aimed, may be secured through its ruin in a way of which it never dreamed.

The Tong Hak movement originated in 1859 at Kyeng Chu, a walled town forty-five miles north of Fusan, in the province of Kyeng Sang. Its founder Choi Chei Ou was a Confucian scholar, and he began his work under the pressure of an experience somewhat like Hung Siu-tsuen's. He had watched with deep interest the progress made by the Roman Catholic Church in Korea, and he began to think deeply as to whether it was the true religion. It was proscribed by the Government, and even then its adherents were being pursued and slain, but resolutely refused to deny their faith. The whole affair profoundly impressed Choi Chei Ou. "Since the missionaries have come so far," he argued, "and spent so much in the propagation of their religion, it must be true; and yet, if it is true, why are its followers now being killed by the Government as criminals?" As he brooded over this question from day to day, he fell sick. Though he used much medicine, he became no better, and was finally at the point of death. One morning just as the sun rose over the hills, he fell into a kind of trance, and there appeared unto him some supernatural being, who called him by name. "Choi Chei Ou-a!" "Yea," answered Choi. "Knowest thou not who speakest unto thee?" "Nay," replied Choi. "Who art thou?" "I am God," was the answer. "Worship Me and thou shalt have power over the people." Choi then proceeded to ask him concerning the question nearest to his heart. "Is the Roman Catholic religion the true religion?" "No," was the reply, "the word and the time are the same, but the thought and spirit are different from the true." With

this God departed. Choi, seizing a pen close by, grasped it, and there came out in circular form upon the paper these words: "Since from aforetime we have worshipped Thee, Lord of heaven, according to Thy goodness do Thou always bestow upon us to know and not forget all things (concerning Thee) and since Thine unspeakable thoughts have come to us, do Thou abundantly for us according to our desire." This scrawl Choi picked up, burned it, and pouring the ashes into a bowl of water, drank it. Immediately he arose and his sickness was entirely gone.

Choi felt called to found a new religion. He was not satisfied with Confucianism or Buddhism or Taoism, the systems he already knew, and his divine revelation as he believed it to be, dismissed the claims of Christianity as taught by the Roman Catholic priests. Accordingly, he set about constructing a new system. Tong Hak, he called it, or Eastern Learning, in distinction from Romanism, which was called Sŭ Hak, or Western Learning. The name was appropriate, also, because his new faith was a composite of what was best in the Eastern systems under which he had grown up. From Confucianism he took the Five Relations, father and son, sovereign and subject, husband and wife, friend and friend, and elder brother and younger brother: from Buddhism the law for heart cleansing and from Taoism the law of cleansing the body from moral as well as from natural filth. One of the names of the Bible of the new religion which Choi made and called "Great Sacred Writings," is made by combining the names of the three religions, Yŭ Poul San Sam To. Beside the Bible he composed a prayer for the Tong Haks, in which the influence of Romanism was seen in his choice of a term for God.

It was from Romanism also, doubtless, that Choi got his strong monotheistic convictions. He and his followers rejected the Buddhist belief of the transmigration of souls and they did not use images in worship. "Their rites," wrote Mr. Junkin, to whose article on the Tong Haks I am indebted for the preceding statements,[1] "are free and simple. When members are to be initi-

[1] The Episode of the Tong Haks is an almost unworked field in history. Three or four articles in the *Korean Repository* are all that I have been able to find: Vol. II, No. 2, Art. "The Tong Hak," by the Rev. Wm. M. Junkin; Vol. II, No. 6, Art. "Seven Months Among the Tong Haks;" Vol. II, No. 1, Editorial, "A Retrospect;" Vol. V, No. 6, "Confession of a Tong Hak Chief."

ated, a master of ceremonies calls the candidates before him. Two candles are lighted. Fish, bread and sweet wine are placed before them. Then they repeat twenty-four times in concert the Tong Hak prayer, 'Si Chun Chu.' Bowing before the candles completes the ceremony, when they rise and partake of the banquet—the expenses of which are paid by the newly initiated. They claim that they do not sacrifice, making a distinction between the words Chei Sa and Tchi Sŭng. They worship as follows: Cement, red clay, and one smooth stone are taken and an altar is made. Before this a bowl of pure water is placed, and at night the worshipper bows before this with forehead on the floor, praying the 'Si Chun Chu.' When his prayers are over, he drinks the water, calling it the cup of divine favour." [1]

From its birthplace in Kyeng Sang the Tong Hak religion spread westward and north into the provinces of Chulla and Chŭng-chŭng, and drew adherents steadily. It is evident that it bore strong resemblance to Romanism, and when in 1865 the persecution against the Catholics became deadly, the Tong Haks suffered also. Ever since the heroic missionaries of the Church of Rome had come to Korea in 1845, they had been obliged to carry on their work secretly, with now and then a temporary respite when the authorities at Seoul had momentary relaxations of bitterness or passing frights at the possibilities of foreign invasion. But in the sixties the last and greatest persecution broke in all its fury. In 1864 the Queen Cho, a bitter enemy of Christianity assumed the regency, adopting a lad of twelve, the present Emperor, and entrusting to his father "the rudder of state," as Father Wallays of Penang, says in his account of the Catholic mission in Korea. Shortly after, the Russians pressed the confines of their empire to the border of the Korean province of Ham Kyŭng and appeared in Gensan harbour, and applied to the Korean Government for powers to trade and settle. "The Korean Government was in the greatest straits. On this," says Father Wallays, "certain Christian nobles, Thomas Kim Kei-ho, Thomas Hong Pong-chu, house stewards to the Bishop of Copsa, and Anthony Ngi, thinking that by so doing they would be advancing the interests of religion and of the country, wrote a letter to the King's father, pointing out to him that the only way of saving the kingdom from a Rus-

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 57, 58.

sian invasion, was by making a treaty with the French and English, and that this could be done without difficulty by the aid of the European bishops residing in the kingdom. The prince read this letter over and over, but made no reply, seeing which, those who had written it were very much alarmed.

"The King's mother having directed that a fresh letter should be written, this was done by John Nam, a noble literatus living at Court. The Bishop of Copsa, hearing what had been done and thinking that he would be sent for by the prince, had returned to Seoul, and was looking forward full of hope to the issue of the business. But in the meanwhile the Russians had gone, the panic had subsided, and the envoys returning from Peking announced that Europeans were being butchered all over the Empire; so that as the royal ministers went on persecuting the Christians with the greatest hatred, the anti-religious view prevailed, and it was decided that all the missionaries should be sacrificed and the former laws against Christians put into execution once more."[1] It is easy to blame the Catholic missionaries for intervening in political affairs, since their intervention failed; but if it had succeeded and had indeed opened Korea by treaty to the West eighteen years before, as it turned out, the first Western treaties were signed, it would have been a great and worthy triumph. At any rate, as it was, they were preaching a proscribed religion. Scarcely any venture would make matters worse. A prudent venture might make them infinitely better, and prove a great blessing to the whole land. In any event they were ready to lay down their lives in their cause, and for it, and the issue of the matter was for them the glorious martyrdom they coveted. The Bishop of Copsa, says Father Wallays, was examined before the King's father, and after answering various queries, was invited to abjure his faith. "I came," said he, "to preach the religion by which souls are saved, and you desire me to abjure it. That I will certainly not do." "The executioners were then ordered to beat the venerable old man in the most cruel fashion, and to flay him with scourges; the bones of his legs were stripped of flesh, and all his body was torn to shreds."[2] With him died the Bishop of Acona and seven priests. The three who escaped were driven out, and the fury

[1] Wallays, *The Missions Etrangeres*, p. 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

of the persecutors nearly wiped out of existence the Korean Church. "Nameless torture and indescribable modes of killing filled the land with a terror which has outlived a generation. The custom of putting suspects in bags to bring them to the capital gave rise to the expression, 'How many bags,' as an equivalent for 'How many men?' . . . The land was drenched with the blood of the innocent. Few of the thousands apostatized. Frail women dragged from the seclusion of quiet homes to stand before savage tribunals, strong men and even tender children stoutly refused to curse the name of Jesus or spit on or trample under foot the wooden crosses offered them," but died with steadfast faith.[1] The history of the Catholic missions in Korea shows the presence in Korean character of the robust qualities, as it illustrates also that wide-spread discontent among the Koreans, both with their old religion and with their general conditions, to which the Tong Haks made their appeal.

It was in the earlier stages of this great persecution that Choi Chei Ou was arrested on the unjust suspicion of being a Roman Catholic. He was accused of this crime, condemned and beheaded at Taiku, the capital of Kyeng Sang province. How clearly the Government distinguished, if it distinguished at all at the time, between the Tong Haks and the Catholics does not appear, but the condemnation of Choi put the religion under the ban. For twenty-seven years we know little of it. Evidently it held the devotion of its followers, and kept alive its traditions, and in 1893 it burst out again, but now under political forms that displayed features both of the Tai-ping and the Boxer Movements. Like both of these it was very full of religious superstitions, even magical elements, and it was opposed to the general official corruption that prevailed; but it professed loyalty to the throne and the dynasty that occupied it. In its attitude towards foreigners it was conservative and reactionary.

The reappearance of the Tong Haks was in the spring of 1893. At that time fifty of them came "to Seoul and spread a complaint before the Palace gate, on a table, over which was thrown a red cloth. They asked that their leader, the martyred Choi Chei Ou, be declared innocent, that he be given a certain rank, and that they be allowed to erect a monument in his memory; further, that the ban be taken off their religion, and that they be allowed equal privi-

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 244; Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 81–91.

leges with the Roman Catholics. If this was not granted they would drive all foreigners from the country. The King replied that he would give the matter serious consideration, and requested that they would cease to obstruct the thoroughfare in front of His Majesty's gate. This was followed by the arrest of a few Tong Haks in the district from which the fifty came. Their petition was not granted."[1] Doubtless the King thought it was a trifling thing, and the West knew nothing of the fifty countrymen who stood at the King's gate with their petition and their red covered table, demanding posthumous honours for the martyred Choi. But the ignored movement of which these fifty men were the expression, has changed the history of Asia, made one nation, and unmade another, and radically influenced the development of all the great powers of the world.

Rebuffed and disappointed the Tong Haks returned to their homes, held their peace until the following spring, and then the organization rose in revolt. Their petition in the spring of 1893 had concerned itself with their religion, and might have been granted at no cost. Their revolt was a political rebellion against the wide-spread corruption and oppression of the Government, deriving its tone and inspiration, however, from their peculiar religious doctrine.

The condition of Korea amply justified revolt. Courts, magistrates, taxation were corrupt beyond the possibility of exaggeration. "In Seoul," said the editor of the *Korean Repository*, "there were officers appointed to exercise the functions of judges, but no lines were drawn, or at least observed between the judiciary and the police, and even the jailers, the runners of the courts and other hangers-on, the whole comprising about as disreputable and rapacious a set of scoundrels as ever infested and cursed a community, inflicted punishment upon and extorted money from any unfortunate who could by any device or accusation be got into their clutches. Unless the prisoner had influential friends, to be imprisoned was to be robbed. It is to be presumed that some thieves, especially if they had not stolen enough to divide, were in the jails, but that a large number of the crowd of jailers, reserves (or policemen) and hangers-on we have mentioned, belonged to that fraternity and should have been in instead of out of and around the jail, there can be no doubt. The courts were in no respect independent of outside influence. If by

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 59f.

any lucky mischance a judge had any honesty or conscience, and desired to decide rightly, he was liable at any time to be ordered by some higher and more influential official to do otherwise and dared not disobey. It is notorious that certain men, very high and influential in official circles, made it a business to interfere in both civil and criminal cases for a consideration, and shamefully sold decisions, that is, if given money or an interest in the case, and ordered the judges to render the decisions they desired. Thus justice was sold brazenly almost as openly as the brass bowls in the bazaars.

"Criminals could purchase protection, innocent men were condemned and killed, neither life nor property had any security.

"But even this failed to satisfy the rapacity of the class of officials we have mentioned. They established private robbing offices at their residences. If any common man, who had not secured protection from some Yang ban (patrician,) had by some lucky chance or by industry or skill in his business or trade, saved some money or accumulated a little property, some false claim would be trumped up against him, and he would be seized and taken by the servants of the officials to the official's residence, and there held and beaten and tortured until the poor fellow gave up his hard earned savings.

"In the country the situation was fully as bad, if not worse. Justice was nominally administered by the governor and magistrates, but actually dispensed with even a more sparing hand than at Seoul. There governors and magistrates had as a rule paid for their appointments, sums more or less large, to the officials in Seoul, under whose influence they were appointed. And as their terms of office were most uncertain, were compelled to recoup themselves on the first and every opportunity. The people were robbed and squeezed in the name of the law mercilessly and unblushingly.

"To this vile and pernicious prostitution of justice and law," adds the *Repository*, "we may trace most of the political troubles of Korea."[1]

How rotten things were and how selfish may be seen from the fact that even in 1896, when some measure of reform had been introduced as a consequence of all the events that followed the agitation of the Tong Haks, the Government budget of "$6,316,831 (silver) provided for only $149,090 (silver) to be spent for education, public works and

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 45of.

support of prisoners. The balance $6,167,741, was for the salaries and other expenses of the Government officials." But, beyond this, Dr. Jaisohn contended that the people paid double this amount in taxes, but one-half of it was eaten up at once as private gain by voracious officials.[1] "Official rapacity has been known to extort as many as seven bags of rice out of every ten."[2] The Yang ban class was constantly increasing. No man who went up into it ever came down, and it was contrary to his sense of propriety to do any work. In consequence an enormous host of unnecessary officials had to live upon the people.[3] When the people showed reluctance to be squeezed, officials resorted to the most atrocious cruelties. At the time of the Tong Hak uprising practices were common which later became uncommon enough to call for public comment. In the Seoul *Independent* for August 7, 1897, appears a letter about the magistrate of Shi-heung, describing his method of extorting money from thrifty farmers, "which has," the writers say, "a telling effect on every victim who happens to fall into his hellish hands. First he beats a man with whips until the legs become raw, then he takes a stout rough stick and rubs the raw shin vigorously with it until flesh is torn off. He repeats the punishment every two or three days in order to keep the part from healing. No one can stand the torture more than twice, and is then willing to pay everything he possesses to get out and be released from the infernal punishment." This magistrate had earned the nickname of the "Squeezing Butcher." And this is no exaggeration. I saw in the jail yard at Pyeng Yang in 1897 a group of prisoners who had been treated in just some such way. The flesh was festering, raw and diseased on their thighs and ankles, where they had been repeatedly beaten with sticks. The prison gate stood wide open. I asked a keeper why the prisoners did not escape. He smiled and said they did not wish to. A second look at the helpless limbs and the pain twisted faces showed that they had no life to do more than to huddle in the sun and endure their pain.

Even the most long-suffering people must turn at last, and in the spring of 1894, the limit was reached. The Tong Haks were discontented. On account of their religion they were under suspicion.

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 167.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3f.

They formed the natural rallying party for all who felt that the limit of endurance had been passed. Multitudes who had not been won by the Tong Hak religion sympathized with a Tong Hak revolt against corrupt and oppressive officials, and turned to the organization as offering some hope of release from their unendurable wrongs. The same spirit of blind acceptance of any chance of relief doubtless had led many to ally themselves with the Catholics in earlier days, and accounts for some of the popular turning to Christianity as presented by the Protestant missionaries to-day. From the Tong Hak point of view, moreover, this world is all there is. The Tong Haks had rejected the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration, and took a purely agnostic attitude towards a future life. Whatever happiness they could have they must get here. Surely the time had come now to arise and drive the miserable brood of tyrannical harpies out of the yamens, and to that extent, at least, deprive life of its woes.

They began by addressing an appeal to the whole country:

"The five relations of man in this world are sacred. When king and courtiers are harmonious, father and son loving, blessings follow and the kingdom will be established forever. Our sovereign is a dutiful son, a wise, just and benevolent ruler, but this cannot be said of his courtiers. In ancient times, faithfulness and bravery were distinguishing virtues, but the courtiers of to-day are degenerated. They close the ears and eyes of the King so that he neither hears the appeals of this people nor sees their true condition. When an attempt is made to get the truth to the King, the act is branded traitorous and the man as a malefactor. Incompetency marks the men in Seoul, and ability to extort money those in the country. Great discontent prevails among the people, prosperity is insecure, and life itself is becoming a burden and undesirable. The bonds that ought to exist between king and people, father and son, master and slave, are being loosened.

"The ancients say, 'Where ceremony, modesty, virtue and righteousness are wanting, the kingdom cannot stand.' Our country's condition now is worse than it ever has been before. Ministers of State, governors and magistrates are indifferent to our welfare, their only concern is to fill their coffers at our expense. Civil service examinations, once the glory of our people, have become a place of barter; the debt of the country remains unpaid; these men are conceited, pleasure-loving, adulterous, without fear; and the people of the Eight Provinces are sacrificed to their lust and greed. The officials in Seoul have their residences and rice-fields in the country, to which they propose to flee in time of war, and then desert the King.[1] Can we endure these things much longer? Are the people to be ground down and destroyed? Is there no help for us? We are de-

[1] This was literally fulfilled.

spised, we are oppressed, we are forsaken, but we still remain loyal subjects of our glorious King. We are fed by him, clothed by him, and we cannot sit down idly and see the Government disgraced and ruined. We, the people of the whole realm, have determined to resist unto death the corruption and oppression of the officials, and to support with zeal and courage the State. Let not the cry of 'traitors' and 'war' disturb you, attend to your business and be prepared to respond to this appeal when the time comes."[1]

The time had already come, and the Tong Haks sweeping into Chŭng-chŭng Province, carried everything before them. "The Korean soldiery," says Mr. Junkin, "were unable to check their forces. Governors, magistrates and other officers were deposed in summary order, many meeting swift justice for past misdeeds. The Tong Haks gained over the people in the following manner. A man clothed as a high official was sent to a village. He carried the royal seal of authority, *pyeng pou*, a reed given by the King to his messengers. This reed is broken, one half remaining in the Palace and the other being carried by the official. This intimated that there was royalty among the Tong Haks. This officer summoned the villagers before him, and asked who were Tong Haks. The unwilling were then politely urged to join until the majority came over. These then were sent against the halting minority. If they failed, the officer summoned the stubborn one before him. He would not so much as see his face, but the victim was made to kneel on the ground outside the officer's door, and was told to join at once or take the consequences—death."[2]

The growth of the Tong Haks was assisted as in the case of the Boxers, by their claim to possess supernatural power and protection. "It is stated that when the founder was miraculously cured, he wrote a number of mystic signs upon slips of paper, which when given to any sick Tong Hak produced instant recovery. I have in my possession," adds Mr. Junkin, "a copy of a paper taken from the body of a Tong Hak recently slain in the Province of Chŭng-chŭng. The signs are utterly unintelligible, looking much like a child's first attempt at drawing spiders. The first reads, 'If you carry this, hundreds of devils cannot overcome you.' The second makes the body weapon proof. It is said that one of the Tong Haks approached the Korean soldiers flourishing one of these papers. At first they were

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 30f.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 60.

overcome by his daring, and were afraid to fire. Finally a brave, more bold than the rest, ventured a shot, killed the Tong Hak, and dispelled the enchantment. The third gave a prosperous journey, etc. This superstition is practiced in China, and I am informed that Japanese magicians profess to heal by means of the same mystic characters. The Tong Hak doubtless adopted it from China. We are told by outsiders of other miraculous powers belonging to them. It was the custom of the founder to ride upon a cloud. To jump over a house, or from one hill to another was a common practice. A house so commanded by a Tong Hak suddenly disappeared. If an enemy suddenly appeared in the same room with a Tong Hak, the latter mysteriously vanished. This too may be a Chinese custom. An empty purse obeyed the command of the magician and became full." [1]

This element in the Tong Hak faith was disclosed by the confession of Choi Sik yŭng, a Tong Hak chief, arrested in 1898. In transmitting him to the Supreme Court for trial, it was stated in the police report that according to his confession, he "was converted to the sinister doctrine in 1865. It is known all over the country that he raised the standard of revolt in the year of 1893, pretending to serve a righteous cause. Barely escaping with his life, instead of forsaking his errors, he continued to deceive the foolish with his baneful claims. Considering the evil he has done, he does not deserve a moment of indulgence." In the confession referred to, Choi Sik yŭng said, "Having long led a wandering life, I have no settled home. When young I had a disease, but was too poor to receive medical attentions. Thirty-three years ago (1865) I met Pak Chien sah, a merchant in Kang-Wŭn-Do, who taught me the incantations of thirteen characters, viz., Si-chun-ju-cho-wha-jung-yung-sie-pul-mang-man-sa-chi. Another formula, Chi-kui-kum-chi-wen-ui-tai-kang was given me for conjuring up spirits. Five or six days after reciting these formulas, my body trembled involuntarily, and I began to feel better, though I was not entirely cured of my complaint. The 'doctrine' having made me whole, I propagated it gradually to many people. Those who believed in my tenets recognized me as their teacher, calling me by the name of Pŭphun or Law Porch." [2]

Great use was made of this possesssion by the Tong Haks of

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 58.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 235.

access to supernatural power in securing results, especially in the last days of the movement. All who accepted the doctrine were promised security from all sickness, debts and taxes would not need to be paid, and the crops would never fail; while in battle the enemy's bullets would be turned to water. The magical power which was claimed for the leaders was unbounded,[1] and the confidence of the Tong Haks in these spells, and charms was pathetically strong. This superstitious, fetichistic element of the Tong Hak religion was most congenial to the Korean mind. The Koreans are, or rather were, Confucian in their politics, and to a real extent the Confucian ideas had shaped the thought of the people generally, but Confucianism had no such place with them as it had in China. Buddhism had far less influence. For centuries no Buddhist temples have been allowed in Seoul, and throughout the country little heed is paid to them.[2] The real religion of the country has been Shahmanism, the worship of spirits, especially the attempt to placate or exorcise evil spirits. The Pansu or Mutang, the sorcerer or sorceress, is one of the most common expressions of the native religious ideas. With musical instruments, offerings, paper images or other effigies, with umbrellas, fans, gongs, bells, and other implements, with charms and incantations, the sorcerers or sorceresses drive out evil spirits from houses or men, cleanse from disease, purify defiled places, break ill luck, and control the movements of spirits and the souls of the dead.[3] The Mutang ceremonies and other forms of Shahmanist

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 203.

[2] "Among the people I never met a single hearty Buddhist." Gilmore, *Korea from its Capital*, p. 189.

[3] "Seoul is [in 1896] a very quiet city and at night it is as dark as it is quiet; only here and there a little flickering lantern lets the belated passer-by know that a wine-shop rests beneath its dismal rays, or the splashing of the wayfarer's boots in the mud of the unpaved streets may arouse an occasional dog—the sole guardian of the city's quiet. Yet every now and then one may hear a most vigorous double-action rap-tap-tapping where a couple of women are ironing or rather mangling the family linen. And when a lull occurs in this rhythmic tapping one knows that the poor things have stopped for a bit of gossip, only to fall to and keep up their musical tinkle during the most of the night. About the only other noise one may hear along the streets, aside from the brawling of some drunken wretch, is the jolly racket made by the Mutang. As they dance, beat their tomtoms and drums and utter their peculiar calls, a stranger can hardly believe other than that that particular house is giving a family 'hop' and that some one is 'calling off' in good old style, so naturally, too, as to make one feel like joining in the 'swing your partners,' etc., that the calls seem to mean. This only illustrates the contrariness of things oriental to the occidental mind however, for there is no merry-

superstition are forbidden in Seoul, but are carried on constantly without the city, and often within it. I was present in the summer of 1897, at some extensive preparations for a Mutang performance in the west city gate of Seoul, designed to persuade the heavenly spirits to diminish the fall of rain, which had been deluging the country. By his Shahmanism the Korean supplies the deficiency of Confucianism in its agnosticism towards the spiritual world, just as the Chinese atone for it by the ideas of Buddhism and Taoism. The Korean "system postulates the existence and immanence of innumerable spirits, who correspond to the idea underlying the old Greek word

making in this house. There is music, dancing and calling out; but instead of being in mirth it is in sadness, for it is done by a paid female exorcist who is trying by her incantations to drive out the smallpox or other evil spirit from the person of some suffering member of the family. The family, if poor, may have pawned their clothing to pay for this treatment, and while they may get some pleasure from the music and dancing they are much more concerned in the results they hope to obtain.

"These Mutang represent a very ancient institution and belief in the efficacy of their methods is very general among the lower classes but their patrons are not all of the common people.

"The Mutang use as instruments a drum made in the shape of an hour-glass and over four feet in length, copper cymbals, a brass or copper rod with little tinklers suspended from it by chains made of the same material, a bronze or copper gong and a pair of baskets, telescope shaped, for scratching. This scratching is very necessary in case of cholera, for this disease being caused by rats climbing up inside the human anatomy, as is supposed, the scratching is expected to alarm and drive them away, since it so nearly resembles the noise made by cats.

"Besides the above musical (or noisical) instruments, the Mutang use banners of paper or strips of bright coloured silk, which they wave and weave about them in the manner of a modern serpentine dancer; they also use umbrellas and fans in parts of their performance. They also make use of images of men and animals, sometimes expensively made and gorgeously painted, at other times mere effigies of straw. The financial condition of the patient settles the question as to what instruments or figures are used.

"Aside from driving away the spirit of disease from an afflicted person, these women are also called in to purify a well in which a person has been drowned, in which case she induces the spirit of the drowned person to leave. Also, after a death she is called in to persuade the soul of the departed to return and look after those left behind. She also deposits the bad luck of an individual in one of the before-mentioned images, together with some coin, which image being thrown into the street is taken and torn to pieces by some poor beggar or drunken person who thus, for the sake of the coin, takes upon himself the ill luck that has been annoying the other person.

"These Mutang were not allowed inside the city walls by Tai Cho Tai Wang, who founded the present dynasty 505 years ago, hence their noisy little temples are still seen outside but near to the walls. The priestesses, however, come into the city freely. This order is recruited from among hysterical and silly girls as well as from women who go into it for a livelihood or for baser reasons. Some

demon. These spirits are not necessarily evil, but they control the affairs and fortunes of men. They are a solution of the universal query as to the mystery of human suffering. To them is attributed every ill in life. Each sickness, adversity, misfortune and disaster is the result of their interference with human affairs. Pansu and Mutang, priests and priestesses of this cult, in every section of the land are living sponsors for these tenets, and stand ready to exorcise or propitiate for a proper compensation. These spirits are innumerable. They rank all the way from Tok ga bi—the hobgoblin, whose mighty

times the daughter of a genteel family may become a Mutang, though this is rare, as her people would rather kill her than have her madness take this form. Men marry these women and have families by them but the men who so marry are low fellows who are willing to be supported by the wages of women however basely employed. The order is said to date back 4,000 years when, in China, they were called Moo Ham and were under a set of official regulations.

"It is related that in very ancient times the magistrate of Opp had much trouble with the Mutang of his district because they carried on the practice of human sacrifice, for which purpose the people assembled once a year and brought beautiful girls who were thrown into a river to appease the spirit with whom the Mutang were in communication. This magistrate Su, decided to stop this evil custom. Accordingly when all were assembled for the annual sacrifice and the chief Mutang had called on the river spirit to accept the offering about to be made, the magistrate stepped forward and ordered the Mutang to go into the water herself as the girl was not beautiful enough for the use of the spirit. She objected, asking a few days' delay that she might obtain a more acceptable victim. The magistrate would brook no delay, however, and forced her into the water, where she sank and did not come to the surface. He then forced her servants in to see what had become of their mistress and they also were drowned, whereupon the others begged him to desist and offered to give up the objectionable custom. This he agreed to and the practice was given up. It is said that a wag having painted the name of this magistrate on the bottom of a sleeping Mutang's foot, she fell dead on trying to stand on that foot after awakening. It is also said that a Mutang foretold to Tai Cho Tai Wang that he would be a king, long before he had any kingly ambition, and it is also related that once, when this great Tai Cho was hunting, prior to his founding the dynasty of Chosen, he heard a peculiar grinding noise, and on investigation found that it came from a fox who was busy grinding a human skull to fit her own head, which, when she had put it on, made her look like a beautiful girl. Tai Cho tried to shoot the fox, but did not succeed. Some time after this he heard of a wonderful Mutang at the old capital Song Do, who could and did raise the dead to life. In this way and in the healing of disease she had gathered almost all the money of the residents of the capital. On going to see her, he saw that it was the fox he had tried to kill and again he tried to take her life, whereupon she upbraided him and told him she was working in his own interest, that she was collecting money for him to build a new capital when he should become king. He asked her where the money was deposited and she told him he would find it in the bed of the Han River on the banks of which he was to build his capital. He went to the place, it is said, and found the money which he afterwards used in building the city and walls of Seoul" (*The Korean Repository*, April, 1896, article by the Hon. H. N. Allen, "The Mutang," pp. 163–165).

gambols are the subject of many a ghost story—to Tai Chang Kun, Lord of this spirit world, whose throne fills a quarter of the heavens. A number of these spirits are household gods, and have taken up their residence in the gateway, the storerooms, and the living rooms, in the walls and the ceilings and behind the houses. Here they are represented by fetiches—a bundle of straw, a paper of rice, a gourd, an old hat or a cast off shoe, hung in a conspicuous place to stand for a supernatural conception. About these spirits there has grown up a system of observances, ceremonies and festivals, which, coming round both periodically and occasionally, form quite an event in the routine of Korean life. Offerings are made and rites observed at such times, which entail an amount of expense and credulity against which many a Korean rebels. Upon the country people this system has a great hold. More than once," says the Korean missionary whom I am quoting, "we have been asked to destroy fetiches rotten with age, by those who desired to break with them, because they were afraid to touch them themselves. There is many and many a Korean in straightened circumstances to-day, who has been reduced from affluence to poverty by the expenses entailed by Shahmanistic observances to save the life of a beloved parent or child." [1]

This superstitious temper of the Korean people fitted them to accept the magical claims of the Tong Haks, and gave the latter so long as they were successful, a strong hold upon the common people.

Incidentally the Tong Hak movement was anti-foreign. The Boxer Uprising was primarily this, and secondarily a movement for political reformation at home. The Tong Haks put the latter first, but both the Confucian exclusiveness which was part of their inheritance, and the traditional anti-foreign policy of the nation led them to declare themselves against the presence of the outsiders and barbarians. The Tong Hak deputation which came to Seoul in 1893, threatened, unless their demands were granted, to drive all foreigners from the country. In his confession, Choi Sik yeng said that after the visit of the deputation to Seoul, hearing that the Government was going to send troops to arrest them, some of them proposed that they "should set up an anti-Japan flag, and, making the fair ground of Po-un their rendezvous, start an insurrection along the Han River

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 146f.

near Seoul."[1] As soon as the insurrection did break out, the Tong Haks began to threaten to kill the Westerners and all who followed the Western religion. Their anti-foreign feeling, however, save as against the Japanese, was not strong and was easily overcome. Explanations of Christianity disarmed their antagonism, but their enmity against the Japanese was implacable. A missionary who lived among them writes in the *Korean Repository*, in an article entitled "Seven Months among the Tong Haks," of some fears at the first of what they might do, so that, as he says, "Two of our friends started out into the dark to see an acquaintance who had become a leader among the Tong Haks (who had come within two miles of him). On into the morning they conversed concerning the Word of God and its deeper meaning. The rebel thanked them for their instruction, promising to use his influence in protecting the foreigner and the few Christians, writing a letter to the several other leaders in the same strain. It had the desired effect as far as we were concerned, and on the next day they passed by in hundreds, levying as much rice as they wished on every village or healthy person. . On that round they fell in with and killed ten Japanese merchants who were detained by head winds on their way to Pyeng Yang. About the same time seven Japanese shipwrecked merchants were also shot, speared and mutilated, and their property plundered. Two or three Buddhist priests were also dispatched, being suspected of being spies sent by Japanese to find the bodies of the dead or where they had been buried. Clocks and watches belonging to the murdered Japanese were brought to me to explain their use and set them going. Having once thus come to an understanding with a few of the leaders, we at length became on friendly terms with them all, or nearly so, and when hundreds of them would be passing, the leaders would be sure to call and have a chat while their followers were made to remain without in the distance through respect for us."[2]

Towards the dynasty and the King himself, as has been said, the Tong Haks at the outset professed complete loyalty. Their proclamation in the spring of 1894, spoke only in kind terms of him. Indeed, while many of his subjects called him weak, the people generally believed in the kindliness and honesty of the King, who is in

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 235.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 203f.

Korea as absolute as any Asiatic monarch, not excepting the Amir or Shah, bound by no constitution and hampered by no advisory or legislative body, save as he pleases to appoint his own ministers.[1] As the Tong Hak rebellion went on, however, it took up a more hostile attitude towards the Emperor. His treatment of their demands, his continued support of the officials whose corruptions oppressed them, some entrance at least into the minds of the people of the possibility of better government as learned from contact with the foreigner, the recollection of old prophecies that the present dynasty was to last for only five hundred years, and that these were already complete, and lastly, the feeling that the King had delivered himself into the hands of foreigners by calling them in to suppress their movement, when he should have removed the abuses of which they complained, combined to make of the Tong Hak uprising against the oppression of underlings, an insurrection against the responsible Government, that is, the King.[2]

The Tong Haks began their insurrection in the spring of 1894. Choi Sik yeng says the movement began in Korea as a popular insurrection, quite independent of the Tong Haks, but that "Chuen Bong jun, a leader of the sect, availing himself of the movement, made the rising both political and religious," summoning the Tong Haks to take up the cause and invading the province of Chung-Cheng.[3] The authorities in Seoul evidently did not appreciate the seriousness of the movement. The King answered the Tong Hak proclamation with expressions of great solicitude, and with assurances to the people in the discontented districts that so far as they were the victims of injustice, relief should be given, and there was "an outburst of royal wrath against the ringleaders of the Tong Haks who had committed overt acts against the Government as well as against officials guilty of more flagrant oppression." But the insurrection grew. The capital of Chulla province fell into the rebels' hands. A thousand or more royal troops were ordered to the seat of war. What the outcome of the struggle would have been if things had been allowed to take their natural course, no one can say. They were not allowed

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. III, No. 11, pp. 429f.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 20; Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, p. 264.
[3] *Korean Repository*, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 235.

to take their natural course. The King was urged by the Ming faction in the capital, which was the faction dominant at the time, and which was the party in favour of China and of conservative and reactionary policies, to ask China for aid in suppressing the revolt. He at last yielded, and on June 7, 1894, China gave notice to Japan in accordance with the Tientsin treaty of 1885, that she was sending troops to Korea, and on the same day Japan replied that she would send troops. A week later Japan notified China that the departure of more troops would be regarded as a hostile act. Meanwhile the Korean Government alarmed at the possible outcome of its course in inviting the Chinese troops, and remembering the collision between Chinese and Japanese influences in 1884, asked the other Treaty Powers to procure the withdrawal of both the Chinese and the Japanese forces, declaring that the rebellion had been suppressed. The representatives of the Western Powers at once sought to secure this end, and the Chinese representatives consented to withdraw. But Japan had been waiting for just this opportunity, and instead of complying with the Korean Government's request, demanded on July 20, that Korea should command the Chinese troops to leave the country.[1] The King, however, had invited them, and instead of complying with Japan's demand, again sought to have both Chinese and Japanese troops leave simultaneously. Japan's answer was to march on the Royal Palace, and with the loss of a few Korean soldiers who made resistance, to take possession of the King. At once thereafter, Major General Oshima marched against the Chinese troops at Ai San, and the China-Japan war had begun, although it was not formally declared until August 1st. The war was in reality soon over. The battle of Pyeng Yang settled it on land, on September 15, and the naval engagement at the mouth of the Yalu River on the sea on September 7th. Hostilities continued for some time however, and the treaty of Shimonoseki which adjusted the new relations of the three nations, was not signed until April 17th. Old things passed away that day, and a new era dawned for China, Korea and Japan. Little did Choi

[1] As to the proceedings at this point there is some difference of opinion. See Douglass, *China*, p. 434. Some allege that the Chinese first demanded that all the Japanese men of war "should leave the Chinese ports by the 20th of July." In any event, Japan had a sincere desire to see Korea opened and reformed, and it was a defence of her course in the matter that for her to withdraw threw Korea back into the arms of China and the reactionary element, which had too long dominated the land.

Chei Ou dream when he founded his new religion thirty-five years before, that his influence would radically change the destinies of these three peoples.

The Tong Haks gave Japan the opportunity for which she had been waiting for years. It is one of the ironies of history that their reward was complete suppression at her hands. The Korean Government was not ingenuous in representing that the rebellion was over. During the autumn of the year the Tong Haks had spread far and wide. The disturbance of the country, the dominance of Japan, the weakening of the Korean Government, the confusion of factions at Seoul and the paralysis of authority, the Tai Wan Kun, the King's father, who was in control, pulling one way and the progressives another,[1] gave the Tong Haks conditions of growth peculiarly favourable, and the uprising spread from the southern provinces as far as the provinces of Whang Hai and Kang Wŭn. For a time it seemed that the Tong Haks would succeed after the war, as they might not have succeeded before. They attacked and burned magistracies. Bands of them went about the country plundering and squeezing, and they propagated their religious doctrine of magic and superstition more energetically than ever. "All sorts of stories were circulated by the leaders. . . . Three steamboat loads of Japanese heads were landed near Pyeng Yang, and all put together made a large mountain. The Chinese were already in possession of Pyeng Yang, and marching south. Strange red-coated soldiers had landed in Chemulpo, and were driving out the Japanese. Also the long prophesied 'South Korean' had risen up, and soldiers were pouring in from the south to give deliverance to the nation."[2] The Korean troops were helpless against the rebels and made themselves even more unpopular by their looting and plunder than the Tong Haks. In December, however, the Government aided by some companies of Japanese soldiers, made a resolute effort to put the rebels down, and by the following spring their power was broken and the uprising was at an end.

Thus closed what Mrs. Bishop calls "a petty chapter of ancient history."[3] But was it petty? It was a movement which represented

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 112.
[2] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 205.
[3] Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, p. 181.

a deep sense of political oppression. It led men to risk life for a reformation of their country. Its leaders gave their lives for it, and their blackened heads, hung by the hair from a pole, looked down upon the passers-by at the little West Gate of Seoul, the last of January, 1895. It was a movement inspired by the deep though childish beliefs of thousands of men regarding the spiritual world. It did what it could to secure relief from tyranny and injustice, and to get help for men from the unseen. And it was not a mere lawless upheaval. "It is wonderful," writes one who lived among them when they were at their worst, "how little plundering they did, considering the large numbers who followed for no other purpose."[1] Surely such a chapter of history may be called pathetic, but not petty. And when we turn to consider the consequences of the Tong Hak uprising, it becomes in the extent and quality of its influences, one of the great movements of history. It may be said that these results would all have been attained sooner or later in any event, if not through the Tong Haks, then by some other agency. It is sufficient to reply that we are dealing with history, and what did happen in it. The fact that some one else would have discovered the great African lakes if Livingstone had not done so, does not make their discovery by Livingstone less significant.

As the occasion of the China-Japan war the Tong Hak uprising completely changed the position of those two nations towards Korea, towards one another, and towards the world. The war revealed to the world the real weakness of China. Men had believed that she possessed enormous military resources. When the struggle began, they smiled and said that China would simply wear Japan out; her soldiers were so contemptuous of death that they would not flee, her multitudes were so great that her armies could be recruited forever, for years she had been supplying herself with foreign arms and ammunition, and mastering the art of war and drilling her troops on Western principles. The conflict with Japan exposed the fallacy and hollowness of all this. The vast sums expended on military supplies had gone into the pockets of corrupt officials. There was no modern equipment and no military discipline. China was shown to be from a military point of view, unequipped, untrained, helpless. This revelation was made to the West, and a new treatment of China

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 208.

began. Formerly she had been robbed warily. Now she could be badgered and insulted and deprived of her territory in open day. Henceforth it became an international question discussed without restraint, as to what would become of China, and how the Western Nations should treat her so as to make her most lucrative. A new contempt appeared in their tone towards her, and their consideration of her pitiable case. And of course, China in some measure, perceived all this, and was influenced by it. Part of China was roused to fresh dislike and distrust of the West. Some who believed in progress, saw in this attitude of the West, ground to fear that China would never be allowed to profit by the stern lessons of the war. Others, who did not want China disturbed, were angry because Japan, a despised nation, had learned from the West the secrets by which she had humiliated their country. They were more desirous than ever that the country should be closed against these hated foreigners, who were disturbing everything that was established, and to whose hearts a reverent piety toward the past was a stranger. Beside these classes, however, there was another in China, to whom the war taught a different lesson. It saw in Western science and education the only hope for China. The country must awake and learn from the West. The Reform Movement of 1898 in China, was the direct outcome of the war. The Tong Haks who wished to see Korea tranquil and quiet and righteously governed under old Confucian models, had struck the most terrible blow ever given at Confucian political institutions in China. And the Boxer Uprising, with all that it involved and with all its consequences, is due to what came in China's history during five years, as a result of the Japan-China war and in consequence of the Tong Hak uprising which produced it.[1]

[1] "Ten years was a short time in a nation's history, but let them consider for a moment what had happened to China in the last decade; ten years ago China claimed a protectorate over Korea—one had only to think of China protecting any foreign territory against aggression to realize what a change had come about in this short period of time; then she had a reputation for latent power and resources which enabled her to have almost a free hand in dealing with the problems with which she was confronted; now she was weakly relying upon the conflicting interests of Foreign Powers to protect one of her richest provinces from foreign aggression; then, she had practically no foreign debt, now she had liabilities amounting to £120,000,000, all incurred by the blunders of her Government. The reputation of the statesmen who had controlled her destiny during this eventful period would certainly be an unenviable one when the history of our time came to be written. The Japanese war had much less influence than was expected, as China was not made to feel the real effect of an unsuccessful war;

And while the results have not been so appalling in the case of Japan, they have been very real and important. The war gave Japan her recognized position among the nations. It secured for her a measure of respect abroad which was at once felt in Japan, and which was as powerful an agency as any in making Japanese feeling more tolerant and kindly towards foreigners. It fed the instinct of nationality, patriotism and militarism in the Japanese. It hastened perhaps the revision of the treaties with the West, and the abolition for the first time in history of the rights of extra territoriality claimed by Christian states in non-Christian nations. It admitted thus to the councils of the civilized world, the nations of Christendom, a new nation which did not regard itself as Christian. It created a new situation of great peril in removing from the dual oversight of Korea, the Chinese Government, and substituting, as Japan's rival, the Government of Russia. Totally new problems in world politics, in the balanced relations of nations, in the expansion of the West and the development of the East were thus created.

Indeed, the consequences of the movement of the obscure Korean who was beheaded under a mistaken impression in 1865, are affecting the whole world. The Pacific Ocean has a new place in the world's plans, our own Western coast a new place in our own hopes and projects, international politics has a wider reach, and the chance of friction is at once increased and diminished by its enlargement of field, and all the thoughts of men are broader, more catholic, because of Choi's life and death. Few movements of modern times or of any times have accomplished more than has followed as the consequence of his religious meditations half a century ago, and of the loyal zeal of his disciples when they spread their petition for his posthumous honour on their red covered table before the King's gate in Seoul in the spring of 1893.

she adopted a policy, which had borne bitter fruit, of relying upon foreign intervention to save her territory from alienation, and the financiers of Europe competed to lend her £50,000,000, which enabled her to pay off the Japanese indemnity without an effort, and have something over; to-day there would be no competition to lend her a tenth of this sum on far more onerous terms: it was only now when she had to pay the interest of this money, and in addition the accumulated charges incurred by Boxer madness, that China was beginning to realize where her blunder was leading her" (Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, 1903, p. 35. Remarks at Annual Meeting by Mr. F. Anderson, Ex-chairman of Shanghai Municipal Council).

And while the consequences of Choi's movement have been vastly greater for the world at large and for other nations, than they have been for Korea, they have been transforming there. The war resulted in the independence of Korea. For centuries it had been under the suzerainty of China, although that relationship had been long disliked by Japan, which felt that on many grounds that position of authority belonged to her. She won it by the war. China's political control of Korea was destroyed forever, and Korea's destinies passed into Japan's hands. Japan's position in the matter was one of great delicacy. She had never been popular in Korea. The Japanese merchants and others in the country were thoroughly disliked. At the same time, tact and considerateness would soon have secured to the Japanese the favour of the people, who were ready to welcome and appreciate the introduction of the reforms which were at once proposed. The Japanese did not purpose to treat carelessly with necessity of reform. Count Inouye had come to Korea at the conclusion of the war to deal with this question, and proposed twenty articles of reform, asserting the supremacy and responsibility of the sovereign and his amenableness to law, the separation of the Royal Household from affairs of Government, definition of the powers of the cabinet and departments, the regulation of taxation, the preparation of an annual budget, reorganization of the army, abolition of boasting and empty show, the codification of criminal laws, unification of the police, limitation of power of local authorities, abolition of bribery and favouritism, of rivalry and intrigue, the appointment of young men who should be sent abroad to study, and the employment of expert advisers by the Government departments, etc.[1] These reforms contemplated the purification of the Government and the independence of Korea. It was a notable achievement. Even if the Tong Haks had been suppressed, here was the fulfillment of all their desires. A great deal that Japan advised she proceeded to help Korea to adopt, and an era of reform set in that bade fair to revolutionize the country. But as in China, in 1898, the pace was too fast, and Japan's course was marked by many blunders and by one great crime, the murder of the Korean Queen, who was believed to be hostile to Japanese influence, at the hint and proven instigation of the Japanese Min-

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 114–118.

ister, Viscount Miura. The result was the utter destruction for a time of Japan's control, and the Government of the country by the King from the Russian legation, where he fled and lived for twelve months. Russia acted temperately in the matter, however, and in due time the King returned to his own palace, taking up his residence in a set of new buildings constructed during his stay in the Russian legation. And by convention[1] between Japan

[1] The following were the two most important agreements between Russia and Japan made public after the China-Japan war:

Protocol of June 9, 1896.

The Secretary of State, Prince Lobanoff-Rostovsky, Foreign Minister of Russia and Marshal Marquis Yamagata, Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, having exchanged their views on the situation in Korea, agreed upon the following articles.

I. For the remedy of the financial difficulties of Korea, the Governments of Russia and Japan, will advise the Korean Government to retrench all superfluous expenditure and to establish a balance between expenses and revenues. If, in consequence of reforms deemed indispensable, it may become necessary to have recourse to foreign loans, both Governments shall, by mutual concert, give their support to Korea.

II. The Governments of Russia and Japan shall endeavour to leave to Korea, as far as the financial and commercial situation of that country will permit, the formation and maintenance of a national armed force and police of such proportions as will be sufficient for the preservation of internal peace without foreign support.

III. With a view to facilitate communications with Korea, the Japanese Government may continue to administer the telegraph lines which are at present in its hands.

It is reserved to Russia (the right) of building a telegraph line between Seoul and her frontiers.

These different lines can be repurchased by the Korean Government, as soon as it has the means to do so.

IV. In case the above matters should require a more exact or detailed explanation, or if subsequently some other points should present themselves, upon which it should be necessary to confer, the Representatives of both Governments shall be authorized to negotiate in a spirit of friendship.

(*Signed*) LOBANOFF. YAMAGATA.

Moscow, June 9, 1896.

Protocol of April 25, 1898.

Article 1. The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitely recognize the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually agree to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

Article 2. Desiring to avoid every possible cause of misunderstanding in the future, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually agree, in case Korea should apply to Japan or to Russia for advice and assistance, not to take any measure in the nomination of military instructors and financial advisers without having previously come to a mutual agreement on the subject.

Article 3. In view of the large development of Japanese commercial and in-

and Russia, the independence of the country was guaranteed, though Russia secured in these conventions, for a few years, without a blow or an effort, but only by Japan's folly, the position previously held by China as joint guardian over Korea with Japan.

Korea's more real independence, however, Japan's aggressive share in her Government being withdrawn, was offset by the collapse of the reforms which Japan introduced. It was impossible to get wholly back to the old corrupt conditions, but the country went far in that way. The rotten underlings, and even their superiors in the country magistracies, resumed the old practice of squeezing, collecting illegal taxes, or forcing the payment of taxes twice.[1] But the feeling which the eclipse of Japan, the advent of Russia and the character of the King's advisers encouraged—namely, that the old order was to be revived, died away, Russia's self-restraining course

dustrial enterprises in Korea, as well as the considerable number of Japanese resident in that country, the Imperial Government will not impede the development of commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea.

Since 1898 and until the Russia-Japan war the following were the engagements that have been entered into between Russia and Korea: A special settlement at Masampo, April 20, 1900. A whale fishing arrangement which allows the Russians to try out the whales on the Korean coast at stations where a force of men and some buildings may be maintained, and which might be construed to cover actual settlements. April 3, 1901, a renewed and enlarged timber concession covering the water shed of the Yalu and Tumen Rivers, and practically giving to Russia the control of the northern frontier of Korea. A non-alienation clause covering the island of Ko Chei Do near Masampo. A promise that no more mines will be granted to foreigners, and that if any one is entrusted with the operation of the Korean Household Mines (which include all the good mines of the country) such operator shall be a Russian. An agreement that if capital is to be secured for the completion of the Northwestern Railway, from Seoul to Weichu such capital shall be secured from Russia, and the work be entrusted to Russian engineers.

As between Japan and Korea, it may be noted that on September 8, 1898, a concession was granted to a Japanese Syndicate for a railway to connect Seoul and Fusan. Work was formally begun on this road August 4, 1901. On August 23, 1900, the Chicksan Mining Concession was granted to a Japanese firm. On October 3, 1900, an additional Fisheries Convention was agreed to between Korea and Japan. On December 8, 1900, permission was granted to a Japanese Company to reclaim a portion of the foreshore at Fusan. On May 20, 1901, a special Japanese settlement at Masampo was announced. With reference to the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway, it might be added that this line, begun by Americans in 1897, was, on December 1, 1897, mortgaged to the Japan Specie Bank, and on December 31, 1898, formally taken over by a Japanese Syndicate headed by Baron Shibusawa. The road was opened for traffic to the river near Seoul on September 18, 1899, and to Seoul on the completion of the bridge, July 8, 1900.

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 110f.

contributing to this end, and in 1898, the situation showed a distinct improvement over the conditions against which the Tong Haks rebelled. The laws had been improved. The work begun by the Japanese did not die. A foreign adviser put some morality and integrity into the financial department and the country began to revive and prosper.[2] But the course of Korea since the war proves the difficulty of grafting reforms on a corrupt stock. To guarantee a permanent reform in the government and methods of a nation you must first produce reformation in its spirit. The reform spirit in the Government was too slight to issue in any great reforms of its own or to maintain any great reforms imposed from without. But the spirit of life had entered, and an account of the politics of Seoul for the last five years, or indeed for the last twenty years would reveal the constant struggle between the conservative and the progressive elements, breaking out now and then in open assassination, as it had done in the emeute of 1884, or in half-ludicrous, half-pathetic appeals for royal assent to popular demands, and half-ludicrous, half-contemptible antagonism to these from the reactionary party, as seen in the Independence Club—Peddlers' Guild riots in 1899.[2]

The influence of Japan has been steadily on the side of reform and progress. If as a result of the war with Russia she retains permanent ascendency over Korea, yet recognizing Korea's complete independence as she has done, her influence will continue for good. She will maintain religious freedom,[3] political order and require an inner reformation that will involve the purification of civil administration and of the courts. There will doubtless be disturbances but back of the jarring conflict of political factions and under the political influence of national pressure however exercised, there is a deeper force at work feeding the best influences at work for Korea's regeneration, and with increasing power moulding the minds of the Korean people and fitting them to exercise the rights which it may be hoped will come to them as soon as they are ready to receive them.

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 147.

[2] See account of Korean Guilds in Gifford, *Every-day Life in Korea*, Ch. V, and *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 42ff.

[3] "The truth is that Japan stands for religious freedom. This is a principle embodied in her Constitution, and her practice is in accordance with that principle" (Prime Minister Katsura in interview published in the *Japan Mail*, May 27, 1904).

The Tong Hak movement in its origin was a protest against the force of missions as it presented itself in the Roman Catholics. And yet even so, Choi was profoundly impressed with Christianity as the priests taught it, and found it hard to believe that it was not true. The Protestant missions had not yet come to Korea, and did not until the doors were opened by the treaties and the way made ready by the unlikely disturbances of 1884, which gave a Western missionary doctor an opportunity to show the power of Western medical science. Even before the Tong Hak revival and uprising of 1894, the Protestant missionaries had gained a strong foothold, and were already convinced that they had before them one of the greatest of modern missionary opportunities. And the Tong Hak rebellion, instead of supplanting Christianity with the religion which Choi had devised as superior to it, or of driving out of the country any foreigners who were propagating it, both gave to Christianity a powerful impulse and opened the way for its wider dissemination. In the first place the conditions of discontent out of which the Tong Hak movement arose were favourable to a hospitable consideration of the message of Christianity. Many of those who followed the Tong Haks with some measure of sympathy were still doubtful as to the legitimacy of their claim to have the true solution to life's problem. Wherein did the lives of the Tong Haks show that life had yielded its secret of contentment to them? And when the Tong Hak movement failed, it left multitudes more ready than ever to listen to the missionaries and the native preachers. They had "been taught the folly of worshipping spirits and the necessity of worshipping God only," wrote one of the missionaries. "Their idea of God and His worship is according to the Roman Catholics and the Buddhists combined. Abstinence, ablutions and sacrifices were freely practiced to appease the deity. 'Repairing of the mind' or repentance was exhorted. The people are now asking what is the true way to worship God? They are conscious we know more about Him than they do. The spirit of inquiry is abroad everywhere. The Tong Haks feel they failed through want of knowledge. More than all, trouble and anxiety are leading the poor Korean to stretch out his hands to God."[1]

Japan's victory in the war made a profound impression upon Korea.

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 208.

For nine centuries Korea had been a vassal state of China. Its Government was modelled after that of the Ming Dynasty in China. Its literature and philosophy were Chinese and Confucian. The civil service examination system in the Confucian Classics had been borrowed from China, and was set up in all its pompous inanity in Korea. The country had ever viewed with awe, its great and invincible patron empire and its institutions. That little Japan should conquer this mighty antagonist with arts and weapons which she made every one understand she borrowed from the West, gave the Koreans a deep respect for the West, and a vivid interest in all that pertained to it or came from it, while it filled them with disgust at China and at the long years of China's imposition of herself and her inflated claims upon them. "The revulsion in feeling" (towards the Chinese), wrote a Korean Christian, from Pyeng Yang after the great battle there, "was very great. Where once there was confidence and respect, now there is nothing but loathing and hatred. It is so to this day. Not that Pyeng Yang loves the Japanese more, but she hates the Chinese with greater hatred." [1]

The issue of the war shattered the confidence of the people in Confucianism and the Chinese gods. The civil service examinations in the Confucian Classics came to an end, and it was no part of the Japanese policy of reform to revive them. The examination hall stands useless and deserted in the capital. The element of filial piety remains, but the Chinese temples are abandoned. Gods that could accomplish nothing in the hour of need for their worshippers, which had taken offerings for years and then were impotent against the armies from Japan, deserved no further care. The people were ready to learn of some new religion. The old religions of China, the

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 9, p. 353. In an account of the battle-field of Pyeng Yang, the Rev. Graham Lee, who visited the place immediately after the battle writes: "Some of the Korean stories about the battle are interesting, not only for the vivid imagination they show, but also because they bring out most clearly the deep seated hatred of anything Japanese, and the ingrained, inherited regard for anything belonging to China. One of these will suffice to illustrate both these traits as well as the Korean imagination. It is told by the Koreans that General Moh, one of the Chinese generals, became disgusted at the way his soldiers fought, and just at this juncture, being wounded in the ankle, he became very angry. Marching to his quarters he donned his armour, and grasping a cannon in his hand, he sallied forth single handed against the Japanese army, and by his own unaided efforts killed two hundred Japanese soldiers" (*Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 14).

new compilation of Choi Chei Ou were alike helpless. The religion of the West was evidently the religion of power.

The people learned also of the enormous political power of the Western Nations. The Tong Hak uprising and the following war ploughed up the hardened minds of the Koreans, and a host of new thoughts, fresh ideas, startling pieces of information about other peoples and other lands fell into the soil. Seeing the might of Japan and hearing that Japan had only learned her secret from the West, the people became anxious to be on friendly terms with the representatives of these nations, just as in 1861, when the English and French armies took Peking, and the rumour came to Seoul that they proposed to enter Korea also, multitudes of the people flocked to the Catholics for books, crucifixes or some sign by which they might claim to be connected with the French priests in case the European armies really came. In their own troubles, their controversies over debts and taxes, the people felt that the influence of a Westerner would be potent and helpful. In every way the war and its political influence set men thinking and disposed them favourably to foreigners and to Christianity. "We note," wrote a missionary, the summer after the war, "the new life the changes of the past twelve months have wrought among the people. Hope has sprung up even in the Korean's heart. A year and a half ago everything was dead. . . . Now signs of life are seen on every side. Business is increasing, schools are well patronized, while the services on the Sabbath held by the Christian propaganda in Korea were never so well attended. Where men were afraid to be seen entering a place of worship, they now enter openly and invite their friends. . . . Christianity is the subject of conversation in nearly every grade of society."[1]

The great mass of the people had access to nothing Western except the Western religion. Fortunately that had gone in in advance of material civilization, and so to the Western religion they turned in their hopelessness and misery. They felt before the war, and the utter collapse of the Government and of their own institutions in the war confirmed the feeling, that they had reached the bottom of wretchedness. Justice was a travesty. There were no real courts, and magistrates were simply extortioners. Poverty was added to op-

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. II, No. 7, p. 268.

pression, and feeling that nothing could bring them to a worse condition, many were ready to welcome Christianity as something which might have good in it. Tong Hak had spoken to them with hazy, magical formulæ. Christianity spoke out with clear distinctness, definite, vital. Tong Hak had accustomed them to religious organization, but there was no mutual confidence in it. The Christian churches showed them bodies of men and women actually bound together by love and confidence. Choi sought to supplant the Western religion. In reality he prepared the way for it.

Of course a situation such as arose from these conditions had its perils. Evil men were sure to take advantage of the prestige of Christianity and of the missionary to seek defence under the protection of the Church. Dr. Underwood discovered that three men in the province of Whang Hai had obtained from certain magistrates, official documents appointing them Christian leaders, and ordering all to whom their papers should be presented, to obey them, having secured these documents on the ground that Dr. Underwood had authorized it, and that without some civil authority it was impossible to make the Christians do right. Armed with these papers, secured either by intimidation or bribery, these men went through that section of the province, "extorting money, ordering arrests, commanding magistrates to decide cases in their favour, and dressed in foreign clothes, with rifles and swords, they intimidated the people generally." They did this under the pretence of great reverence for Christianity, holding meetings as they went, and in the meetings placing the Bible and some Christian books on a table, and spreading a white cloth over them. In consequence of some such acts Christianity suffered and proclamations were posted by some governors warning people against confusing such Christians with the true followers of the Western religion, and warning officials not to be deterred from prosecuting such men even though they sought escape under the cover of Christianity. "There may be some differences," said the Governor of Kyong Keui, "between the Western teaching and our teaching, yet in their regard for goodness and their hate for evil they are one and the same. Therefore, those who are sincere religionists are not given to deeds of violence, while the other kind only overturn law and order. The foreign teachers themselves will regard with pleasure the detention and punishment of all such, and

it will in no wise effect our relations with foreign countries."[1] When Choi's religion was in the ascendant, evil men did evil under the pretence of being its followers. Inconsistency pays its tribute to religion even at home by hiding under it. In every land where missions meet with success, this evil confronts them as the price of their success.

The peculiar position of the missionaries themselves involved them in situations of delicacy during these exciting years. In Seoul they were the most experienced foreigners in the country. They knew the language perfectly. Some of them had come to know the King personally, and he knew he could trust them. In consequence, when the Queen was murdered by the Japanese, and the King already driven to distraction by the events of his country's history during the preceding years, hardly knew in which way to turn, he threw himself upon the missionaries, sought their presence and the sense of protection it brought to him, and relied upon one of them as his interpreter. All this gave certain classes great offence. The Japanese papers, especially some of the English papers published in Japan, were full of attacks upon the missionaries, and the State Department at Washington felt called upon to warn the missionaries through the legation at Seoul to keep aloof from politics. This, it is needless to say, is just what the missionaries had ever tried to do, although it was impossible for them to conceal their own opinions as to what was best for Korea in their own publications, or in their conversations with Korean officials. That the missionaries exceeded the bounds of propriety in this, has never been proven. That their position at such times was one of great delicacy, is obvious. But there are certain inevitable relations between righteousness preached and righteousness practiced which will often obliterate the line between religion and politics by merging them; and while the last thing the missionary has any right to do is to dabble in politics, he could not call the assassination of the Korean Queen by any other word than murder, even when it was conceived and instigated by a Japanese minister. And even though he sympathized with Japan's purpose for Korea, and desired to see her retain her control of the Government, he could not refuse personal sympathy and the support of his presence to a ruler who cheerfully permitted him to preach the gospel to his people,

[1] *Korean Repository*, Vol. V, No. 5, p. 197.

when that ruler called for it and needed the help and reassurance of disinterested friendship. The conditions in Seoul in the years 1895–6 showed very clearly how easy it would be for missionaries to err by political meddling, and also how careful missionaries are to avoid error of this kind. The position won and held both in Seoul and throughout the country by the missionaries is sufficient proof of their general wisdom and care in this regard. They will have their new problems now in view of the new changes due to the war between Russia and Japan.

And the position alike of the missionaries and of Christianity in Korea has been one of singular interest. The missionary instead of being called "foreign devil," is addressed respectfully by a word meaning "shepherd," but which is also an honourable title of respect. And Christianity has won the hearts and transformed the homes of thousands of the people of the land. Of course there are frequent mutterings of opposition, and signs of peril, but the movement sweeps steadily on. It is aiming at a reformation more comprehensive than that which the Tong Haks sought to secure. It repudiates the weapons of material strife, to which they felt compelled at last to resort. All that Choi Chei Ou sought to accomplish it will effect, and far more that never entered the mind of that humble villager, as he dreamed his dreams, and groped for light with the hopelessness of a child crying for it in the night. There has not been in modern times a better opportunity for Christianity to create a nation, or a better place, accordingly, for a Christian man hungry for great influence for good to bury his life, as men say,—to make it nobly fruitful, we will say, unto the Kingdom of God.

The Transformation of Japan

VIII

THE TRANSFORMATION OF JAPAN

"WHILST English travellers are almost overwhelming the British public with information concerning the most remote, the most savage and the least interesting regions of the globe, there is an extensive, populous and highly, though singularly, civilized empire, which remains as much a terra incognita now as it was an hundred years ago."[1] This is the opening sentence of a book on Japan, published only two generations ago. Its archaic sound in our ears is evidence of the greatness and rapidity of the change that has passed over Japan within the memory of many people now living. A feudal society under an absolute sovereign has passed into a representative government under a constitutional emperor and a nation which for more than two centuries had excluded all foreigners but Chinese and Dutch, and was living its own quiet and antique life, has opened its territory to free foreign residence, received full international recognition[2] and alone of all non-Christian

[1] *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, p. 1.

[2] The best evidence of this is the treaties by which Japan is recognized as an equal among the nations. Further striking evidence is the agreement with Great Britain constituting such an alliance as no Western nation has heretofore made with an Asiatic state:

"The Governments of Japan and Great Britain, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the status quo and general peace in the extreme East being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows:

"Art. I. The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognized the independence of China and of Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree, politically as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the High Contracting Parties recognize that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests, if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea and necessitating the inter-

nations not only adopted the appearance of Western civilization, but set about the vital incorporation of its principles in the national character.

It is important to get this great movement, the greatest racial or national movement of modern times, in its right historic setting. Authentic Japanese history begins about the fifth century and reveals an adaptive people, receiving intelligence and inventions and political principles from neighbouring lands. The later centuries show an original development of these acquisitions in harmony with the genius of the people. Outstanding in this development is the growth of Japanese feudalism and the development under it of a distinct national spirit, quite original. The feudal system embraced all the institutions of the land. It issued in the device of an interesting division of authority between the Mikado, the real sovereign, the alleged descendant of heaven, who, unseen by the people and often neglected by them, was still regarded with worshipful adoration, and the Shogun. The Shogun was the actual ruler, who acknowledged the Mikado as his liege lord, was nominally appointed by him, and carried on the administration of the state in the Mikado's name.

vention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

"Art. II. If either Japan or Great Britain, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality and use its efforts to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

"Art. III. If in the above event any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

"Art. IV. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

"Art. V. Whenever, in the opinion of either Japan or Great Britain the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

"Art. VI. The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature and remain in force for five years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it, but if when the date fixed for its expiration arrives either ally is actually engaged in war the alliance shall *ipso facto* continue until peace is concluded.

"In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

"Done in duplicate in London the 30th January, 1902."

In the natural outworking of the nation's life there came at the close of the sixteenth century a great crisis, introduced from without. Through the devotion, tact, heroism, ability and success of the missionaries and in the conditions then prevailing, there seemed a possibility of the conversion of the entire nation to the Christian faith as taught by the Catholic missionaries. Jealousies, suspicions, mistakes and wrong deeds, both of the Catholic missionaries and of Dutch and English Protestant traders brought their natural fruitage, however, arousing the fears of Japanese patriotism and the great mission ended in disaster. The battle of Sekigahara, in 1598, "decided the condition of Japan for over two centuries, the settlement of the Tokugawa family in hereditary succession to the Shogunate, the fate of Christianity, the isolation of Japan from the world, the fixing into permanency of the dual system of feudalism, the glory and greatness of Yeddo (Tokyo) as the Shogun's capital"; and the great persecution which followed resulted in the death of "over a thousand persons, European and Japanese, connected with the four orders—Jesuit, Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian—together with 200,000 of the laity," as the Roman Catholic historians estimate.[1] Christianity was extirpated and the edict of exclusion of the Christian religion in 1614 closed Japan to Christian influence and indeed to all influence from the West.

It is all a familiar story now—how Perry opened the country in 1853–1854, how Townsend Harris and Lord Elgin negotiated the first generous treaties in 1858, how the revolution of 1868 overthrew the Shogun and feudalism, brought the Emperor out of his retirement to resume actual sovereignty and to introduce the European system of Government through departments of state with responsible ministers in charge; how immediately the controlling spirit of the nation altered, and the Government was remodelled from top to bottom. The army, navy and civil service were reconstructed, a postal system introduced, educational departments established, railroads and all the machinery of civilization quickly developed; the eta or pariahs of Japan were admitted to citizenship; the Samurai deprived of their privileges; the calendar of the Christian world was adopted and Sunday established as a day of rest. In 1871–73, an embassy, headed by Iwakura, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, went abroad to study

[1] Cary, *Japan and its Regeneration*, p. 55.

Western institutions and returned to influence yet more positively the progressive course of the nation.[1] Some of the strongest spirits, the great Saigo among them, were unable to adjust themselves to the rapid change, and resisted in the Satsuma rebellion. It was a powerful but futile protest on the part of the old order. The movement swept steadily forward. In 1875, a deliberative assembly was formed. In 1877, provincial representative assemblies were established. In 1885 the Government was reorganized so as to provide for a Cabinet on European models. Four years later, a written constitution was granted by the Emperor, and in 1890, the first Parliament assembled. This is the briefest outline of the revolutionary changes which have been effected with but the slightest opposition.

To understand, however, the magnitude of the transformation which has been wrought, something must be said in greater detail. In thirty years we have seen the entire history of a nation ripped asunder and begun anew. It would not be difficult to trace natural explanations and to point out the preparatory forces but the greatness and significance of the transformation could not be lessened thereby. What we have seen has been the regeneration of a state. "Her leap from feudalism to modernity is without parallel. . . . In a quarter of a century, she has sprung from an Oriental despotism, hating foreigners above all else and differing from other oriental despotisms by the fact that the ruling influence among her people was one of the strictest, loftiest and most punctilious codes of honour that man has ever devised," this is Mr. Henry Norman's view, "to a nation whose army and navy may meet those of contemporary Europe on equal terms; whose laws will bear comparison with any in existence; whose manufactures are driving Western producers from the field; whose art-work has created a new standard of taste abroad, whose education has prepared a band of experts second to none . . . whose colonizing strength suggests more than one alteration to the map of Asia; whose official statistics for truthfulness and elaboration leave those of many Western countries far behind . . . whose people are simply thirsting for fresh fields to conquer and scorn the idea of failure."[2] This enthusiasm is rather ruddy, but the facts are wonderful.

[1] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 767.
[2] Norman, *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, p. 376.

In her politics the transformation of Japan has embraced these two great movements, (1) the decay of feudalism and the establishment in its stead of constitutional Government and (2) the development of party Government under the constitution. The transfer of the exclusive privileges of feudalism to the throne or their distribution among the people has been practically accomplished. "From the social point of view," says Leroy Beaulieu, "we shall very soon find that far less exclusiveness exists in this country where feudalism was in full force only as recently as thirty years ago, than we should in many countries in Europe where its abolition dates back in some instances several centuries."[1] The class spirit, however, has not died and the political struggle under the constitution has been to replace the Government of the few great clansmen who have led hitherto by a Government through political parties organized on non-feudal sympathies. It cannot be doubted that the great clan leaders like Marquis Ito have been in full sympathy with this desire. The difficulty lies in the establishment of two strong, clearly separated parties. Thus far there have been eleven cabinets:

	Organized.	*Resigned.*	*Duration.*
Ito Cabinet	Dec. 1885	March 1888	2 years, 3 months.
Kuroda Cabinet	Apr. 1888	Oct. 1889	1 year, 7 "
Yamagata Cabinet	Dec. 1889	Apr. 1891	1 " 5 "
Matsukata Cabinet	Mch. 1891	July 1892	1 " 3 "
Ito Cabinet	Aug. 1892	Aug. 1896	4 years, 1 month.
Matsukata Cabinet	Sept. 1896	Dec. 1897	1 year, 4 months.
Ito Cabinet	Jan. 1898	June 1898	0 " 5 "
Okuma-Itagaki Cabinet	June 1898	Oct. 1898	0 " 4 "
Yamagata Cabinet	Nov. 1898	Sept. 1900	1 " 10 "
Ito Cabinet	Oct. 1900	May 1901	0 " 7 "
Katsura Cabinet	June. 1901		

Of these only three have professed to be party cabinets and even these have been composite, while the two departments of Navy and War were long held by Saigo and Oyama, and are kept carefully separate from party influence.[2] It is sufficient here to point out that the same men who brought Japan from feudalism to cabinet Government, where the cabinet was a clan Government under the Emperor, are eager to lead the Government on to a full development of repre-

[1] *The Awakening of the East*, p. 155.
[2] Clement, *A Handbook of Modern Japan*, pp. 337f.

sentative institutions and the consequently necessary establishment of well defined political parties.[1]

Side by side with these administrative changes, partly accounting for them, partly produced by them, there have been great changes in the deeper life and thought of the people. The medieval attitude of mind has passed away, a great "relaxation of social and civic restraint" has taken place, together with a great "extension of the principle of personal liberty. . . . In every phase of social life, there has been a loosening of the bonds of the former generation." Accompanying this, the principle of the change that has taken place has been "the substitution of principle in the ordering of national life for local usage or individual caprice. The administrative, legislative, judicial functions of the Empire are henceforth to be conducted in accordance with general principles, embodied in the constitution and in the new codes. The old courts where cases were settled, according to custom or expediency or by compromise, have passed away and judgments are now rendered in the name of justice and equity. Local interest, or prejudice or usage must yield to law, and the political life of the nation take shape around rules which are to be applied to all and govern all alike. The importance of this change cannot be overestimated."[2] The idea of rights and duties has received a new impulse. The sense of personal responsibility, of principle as an individual obligation, as a limitation of arbitrary authority is coming to birth. "There is not a child in Japan," says Dr. D. C. Greene, emphatically, "but which lives a materially different life from that of the children of thirty years ago. The whole atmosphere which he breathes is permeated by the new thought of the value of the individual. He is bound to grow up with a ripe sense of personality."[3]

This change that has taken place has included naturally an "awakening of the sleeping energies of the nation." From 1884 to

[1] See Articles by C. Nakamura in the *Japan Evangelist*, November, 1896, on "Matsukata"; December, 1896, on "Okuma"; January, 1897, on "Ito"; March, 1898, on "Inouye"; LeRoy Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East*, Part II, Ch. VIII; Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*, p. 30; Norman, *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, p. 391; *The Far East*, March 20, 1896, pp. 5ff; June 20, 1898, pp. 1ff; July 20, 1898, p. 580; Speech of Marquis Ito, *Japan-American Commercial Journal*, January, 1900, pp. 34–40.

[2] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 226.

[3] Greene, *The Outlook for Christianity in Japan*, p. 13.

1898 the population increased sixteen per cent. During a period of 120 years under the Tokugawa Shoguns, the population of the country increased less than during any two years since 1886. The population of Osaka increased between 1886 and 1898, 85.5 per cent., and of Yokohama 62.9. The national revenue rose from 103,231,000 yen derived from taxation in 1891, to 236,715,000 yen in 1900. In 1884, the number of manufacturing companies recorded was 379 with an aggregate capital of yen 5,048,299. In 1898, there were 2,164 companies with an aggregate of yen 122,066,053. In the same interval, the number of commercial companies increased from 654 with a capital of yen 8,987,560 to 4,718 with a capital of yen 300,039,664. Transportation companies increased from 204, with a capital of yen 6,891,534, to 536, with a capital of yen 197,233,421. The sum total of the foreign trade for 1884 was yen 66,141,044. In 1899, it had become yen 472,828,751." [1] In 1872 there were only eighteen miles of railway in all Japan. In 1899 there were 3,635. If the comparison were made with the beginning of the new era rather than the middle of it, the change would be yet more wonderful. In the eight years, preceding October 31, 1898, the number of cotton mills increased from thirty to sixty-one; the number of spindles from 227,895 to 1,223,661; of workmen from 4,089 to 13,447, and of workwomen from 10,330 to 43,367.[2] The prospective strength of the Japanese Army and Navy, evidence which weighs with the West as much as trade balances and cotton spindles, when the present program is completed in 1905 for the Navy as it was in 1903 for the Army, will include a force of 150,000 men on a peace footing, with a possibility of throwing 500,000 men into the field in war, and in the Navy sixty-seven men-of-war of 258,000 tons, eleven torpedo boat destroyers, and 115 torpedo boats, far more than double the strength of the Navy before the China war. Thirty years ago, the nation had no Navy and no Army possessed of Western equipment.[3] "In a recent lecture before the Japan Society in London, Dr. Edgar pointed out that it was only about forty years ago that the Government withdrew the order prohibiting the building of seagoing vessels which

[1] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 83.

[2] Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East*, p. 122; *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, pp. 525f.; Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, Ch. XIX; Peery, *The Gist of Japan*, Ch. V.

[3] *The Far East*, January 20, 1897, pp. 2ff.

measured more than 500 koku or seventy-six tons and had more than one mast."[1] In 1870 there were but thirty-five steam vessels. In 1900 there were 1,221. Sailing vessels increased from eleven to 3,322.[2]

And the intellectual energies of the nation have awakened also. The program of transformation embraced the design of popular education for every man and boy. Instead of the utter absence of all schools and educational systems thirty years ago, there are now[3] two Universities with 3,268 students, 303 special and technical schools with 44,698 students and 26,997 elementary schools with 4,302,623 students, and the students include, not the descendants of the old class of gentry only, but even in the university, itself, an almost equal number of the heimin or common people.[4] The nation has become a nation of readers. In 1884 there were 9,893 books published; in 1898, 20,814, while the circulation of magazines, and newspapers increased in the same period from 61,162,611 to 464,458,141. The Government has earnestly striven to accomplish the purpose of the Imperial Educational Rescript of 1872, which declared, "It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member."

These changes in Japan began with a change in Japan's external relation to the world and they have issued in a further change of these relations. The isolated island which for two centuries would have nothing to do with foreigners is now the only Asiatic nation on an equality with foreign states. At first the treaties retained for Western people the rights of extra-territoriality. This retention was galling to Japan, but she set about removing the grounds of objection to the withdrawal of the humiliation, and in 1898 the new treaties conceded to Japan all the privileges of civilized states and foreigners resident in Japan became amenable to Japanese Government and jurisdiction. The delay in surrendering the right of extra-territoriality while irritating to Japan and productive of much anti-

[1] *New York Sun*, June 5, 1895, Editorial "Japan and Her Navy."
[2] *New York Sun*, November 27, 1901.
[3] Statistics of 1899–1900.
[4] See Art. "The Progress of Education in Japan," *The Far East*, November 20, 1896, pp. 1ff; *Stateman's Year Book*, 1902, p. 829; Lewis, *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*, Chs. I–X.

foreign feeling, was undoubtedly beneficial, as it saved Japan from many complications and acted as a powerful spur to the pride and energy of the people, and issued at last in the codes under which Westerners felt that they could trust themselves.[1] The China War had undoubtedly a great deal to do with hastening the popular recognition of Japan's equality in the West, and it powerfully affected the spirit of the nation. It almost created a new loyalty for the Emperor at a time when the decay of the old feudal loyalty endangered all devotion. It gave the nation a steadier confidence and a surer conviction of the superiority of the new civilization which it had adopted. And it increased the sense of responsibility for the nations round about, doomed, as the Japanese saw, to destruction unless they turned and followed in the way chosen by Japan.[2] All this has been but more fully illustrated and reinforced in the war with Russia.

And this new position of Japan in the world movement is not political only. Japan is now in the great current which carries all peoples along together, and is peculiarly sensitive to all the tendencies of this current, more so than any other nation. This is perhaps owing in part to her long seclusion, but there are other reasons to be assigned for this very abnormal degree of sensitiveness. The most important of these lies in the smallness of the educated class and the gulf which separates it from the mass of the people.[3] It may be said that this small class cannot be called Japan, but it is the Japan which the world knows and it is the part of the country also which dominates the rest and is drawing the rest after it. The land which forty years ago would have nothing to do with the world movements is to-day the land most eagerly interested in them and most sensitive to them. Can the leadership of Northeastern Asia be better intrusted to her or to the Power against which she has been contending, the Power least sensitive of all the great Powers to the movements of the world's life?

Changes as deep and far reaching as these have inevitably affected the position of the national religions. When the transformation began Shintoism and Buddhism were practically the established re-

[1] See Art. "The Twelfth Diet of Japan," *The Independent*, August 18, 1898.
[2] *The Far East*, June 20, 1896, pp. 6–9.
[3] Greene, *The Outlook for Christianity in Japan*, p. 6; *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 99.

ligions of the land. The change which has passed over the country has resulted in the official demise of Shintoism as a religion. When the new era began Shinto was in revival as the patriotic cult and again and again efforts have been made to remodel it so as to make it adequate to the needs of the new life. Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro and others have vainly striven to adapt it in some way to withstand the onslaught of the Christian conceptions. All has been in vain and "acceding to the request of Shinto leaders, the Government no longer classifies Shinto as a religion, but merely as a patriotic association for preserving the memory of ancestors and guarding the national monuments. In practice Shinto is still strongly entrenched as a religion in the minds and hearts of the common people. Worship is offered to the souls of ancestors (which is the marrow of Shinto doctrine and practice) and their help is sought in time of need."[1] The cult is still used to support the idea of the divine descent of the Imperial House and as a makeshift for moral sanction in a time of transition, when higher authority in morals and politics is lacking, but anticipating the inevitable defeat of the system as an adequate religion, it has been quietly withdrawn from the field.[2]

The position of Buddhism has undergone a change almost as great as that which has passed over Shintoism. When the restoration of 1868 and the subsequent treaties opened the way for missionary work, the Buddhists were drowsily living their old life and murmuring their old prayers. They did not at first realize the significance of the new day. As one of them wrote in *The Far East*, "The Tokugawa period having been the golden age of the Buddhists, they were reluctant to part with the old institution and custom, moreover the pride and vanity of their better days were still running through their veins. Whilst they were dreaming of the pleasant past with their backs towards the public, the people made a rapid progress in culture. The result was that the Buddhist, who had hitherto been the leader in the religious and educational affairs as well, became now the straggler in the path of knowledge."[3] The Buddhists soon awoke, however, and the inevitable struggle began between the conservative element hating change, and the party which

[1] Grant, *Christendom Anno Domini*, 1901, Vol. I, p. 288.

[2] *Tokyo Conference Report*, pp. 330ff; *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, p. 528; Ritter, *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 124.

[3] *The Far East*, July 20, 1898, p. 543.

saw that change was indispensable if the religion was not to be swept away. How radical is the transformation of the Buddhist spirit in consequence is shown in the statement and appeal of Soen Shaku, the Chief Priest of the Engakuji sect, who was one of the Japanese attendants at the Parliament of Religions:

"The new movement signifies the correction of the vices of the former conservatism and the adjustment of Buddhism to the ruling spirit of the nineteenth century. The advanced state of affairs in our country no longer allows the ancient religion to slumber on in its conservatism; no longer permits its devotees to retire into mountain solitudes, or to pay blind reverence to the sacred writings, to consider the full extent of their duty discharged when they have burned incense before the dead, or to say, 'our duty is to worship and to offer sacrifices and our minds must not be distracted by the fickle changes of society.' If such were the duty of Buddhism, what would be the use of its existing in society at all? Therefore it is that Buddhism is obliged to bestir itself and work a transformation in its spirit and methods. Its very life depends upon this. It is called upon to manifest a progressive spirit both in matters of doctrine and by practical activity; thus helping along the progress of the country and propagating with new vigour the doctrines of Buddha. The scientific truths that are so peculiarly the gift of the nineteenth century must be impressed into the service of Buddhism for their more satisfactory exposition, and philanthropic enterprises of all kinds must be undertaken. Those that have forsaken the world and retired into solitude for meditation must come out of these retreats, throw themselves into the busy world and take a hand in the social enterprises of the day. Those who used to be satisfied with dogmas and superstitions must be about the work of setting before the world, a rational and practical Buddhism that will satisfy the minds of thinkers, as well as the demands of a needy society. This is what the new movement of Buddhism involves."[1]

Kaifu Nukariya holds that the religion must be purified "from old Hinduism," in other words must cease to be Buddhism.[2] Many changes have taken place, but of course there is a vast deal of the old system absolutely untouched, and the shrines are often full of worshippers as devout and superstitious as before the Meiji Era began, but none the less, it is true that Buddhism in Japan has undergone a transformation as real as that of the Government.

And the attitude of the influential classes has changed as greatly. While many of them still support Buddhism as a defence against too much from without, or as another makeshift for the want of moral

[1] Quoted in the *Japan Evangelist*, Vol. III, No. 5, June, 1896, pp. 278f.
[2] *The Far East*, July 20, 1898, p. 545.

sanction and adequate principle, they see its inadequacy, its superstition and often speak of it with dissatisfaction or with contempt. The attitude towards it of the strongest class of minds is indicated by the position of the *Jiji Shimpo*, the late Mr. Fukuzawa's paper, and one of the ablest and most careful papers in the country. Of two articles which appeared in it, the *Japan Mail* said: "It seems to accept without question the fact that Buddhism has actually entered the downward grade and it refers its decline to the immorality and ignorance of the priests, who, since the Meiji Government abolished the rules of celibacy and vegetable diet, have abandoned themselves to riotous living. No doubt, if Buddhism is to be rejuvenated, the priests must become radically different and some publicists, who are naturally perturbed at seeing Japan drift into the condition of a country without any living faith of any kind, advise that the old laws against marriage and meat should be revived and that some fiscal system, like the tithes in England, should be devised for supplying funds to the temples. Both propositions excite the *Jiji's* ridicule." "Japan," adds the *Mail*, "is an interesting country. It has been an interesting country for the past forty years. This moribund condition of its only religious creed is certainly not the least interesting feature of its modern career." [1]

Great as has been the change in the character and position of Shintoism and Buddhism in Japan since the Meiji Era began, the change in the position of Christianity has been greater still. In the early sixties, a few missionaries in the country "'found that they were regarded with great suspicion and closely watched and all intercourse with them was conducted with great surveillance.' 'No teacher could be obtained at Kanagawa until March, 1860, and then only a spy in the employment of the Government. A proposal to translate the scriptures caused his frightened withdrawal.' 'We found,' wrote Dr. Verbeck, 'the nation not at all accessible touching religious matters. Where such a subject was mooted in the presence of the Japanese, his hand would, almost involuntarily, be applied to his throat, to indicate the extreme perilousness of such a topic.'" [2] The missionaries were regarded as "persons who had come to seduce the

[1] *Japan Weekly Mail*, September 23, 1899.

[2] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 746; *Japan Evangelist*, March, 1898, pp. 93–96; April; 1898, pp. 110–113.

masses of the people from their loyalty to the 'God country,' and corrupt their morals generally."[1] The edicts against Christianity hung along the country roads, in city streets, by ferry, and public meeting-place, declaring, "The Christian religion has been prohibited for many years. If any one is suspected, a report must be made at once," and a reward was offered of 500 pieces of silver to an informer upon a father, and 300 pieces for other betrayals, even of a family who sheltered a Christian or a Christian who had once recanted. "If any one will inform concerning his own family, he will be rewarded with 500 pieces of silver."[2] Even after the Restoration when the old laws were removed and those of the new Imperial Government posted, the following enactment was included, "The sect called Christian is strictly prohibited; suspected persons should be referred to the proper officers and rewards will be given." The Bible of course was a proscribed book. "When inquiry was made of the Governor of Kobe whether a native bookseller would be permitted to sell the English Bible, the reply was given that any Japanese bookseller who sold a Bible, knowing it to be a Bible, would have to go to prison."[3] In 1869, Yokoi an Imperial Councillor, was assassinated because he was suspected "of professing wicked opinions"—*i. e.*, of inclining to Christianity, in which he did believe and which led him to propose the radical reforms which were later adopted.[4] In 1868, a large Roman Catholic community was discovered which had held its faith for the two centuries of isolation from Western Christianity. The Government at once broke up the community and sentenced all who were convicted of the crime of Christianity, to imprisonment or penal labour, the last receiving condemnation in 1872.[5] This was the condition at the outset. The great transformation began at once. In 1873, the edict against Christianity was removed from the notice boards. The Buddhist sects which were Christianity's greatest foe were disestablished. The condemned Roman Catholic Christians were released. The spirit of the people changed with a rapidity unprecedented. Count Itagaki, one of the leaders of the new era, declared in 1884 that "the hour had come for Japan to accept Christi-

[1] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 747.
[2] Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 96.
[3] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 748.
[4] Ritter, *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 286.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 30f.

anity, since without it she could not secure a position of equality with the civilized powers of the West,"[1] and the same year, Mr. Fukuzawa took the ground that "the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America. . . . The adoption of this religion will not fail to bring the feelings of our people and the institutions of our land into harmony with those of the lands of the Occident. We earnestly desire, for the sake of our national administration, that steps be taken for the introduction of Christianity, as the religion of Japan,"[2] and when in 1889, the Constitution was promulgated, it was found to contain as Article XXVIII, this provision, "Japanese subjects shall within limits not prejudicial to peace or order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." Christianity could not ask more. It would not desire such a political profession of faith as Mr Fukuzawa advocated and as for a time seemed not improbable. It desires only equality. Later legislation proposed, such as the Religious Bill of 1899, contemplating a complete legal equality of Christianity with Buddhism, and its consequent explicit recognition, would complete the transformation since the days when the evil sect was religio illicita and so proclaimed on every highway of the Empire.

This change is the more significant, too, when it is considered that it has taken place in the minds of the most influential class. The bitter feelings of the sixties were chiefly conspicuous, Dr. Verbeck says, among the higher and official classes.[3] It is here that the great change has come. "It is evident now," Dr. DeForrest said at the Tokyo Conference, "that a remarkable section of the educated people are friendly to and helping on the progress of Christianity," and he quoted as illustrative of the new view of many who still are hostile to Western Christianity, the words of Professor Inouye Tetsujiro of the Imperial University, addressed to a thousand teachers, "Jesus Christ was crucified between two thieves. Who knows the names of the thieves? They are dead and gone. But Jesus lives and ever will live, because of the loftiness of His ethical teachings."[4] The Jesus who was anathematized and by edict forbidden to exert

[1] Ritter, *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 130.
[2] Quoted in Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. III, pp. 598f.
[3] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 748.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 340f.

His influence in Japan is slowly gathering into His hand the hearts of those who hated Him without a cause. It must not be supposed that this wonderful transformation in Japan has been all smooth and harmonious. Politically, the clan rebellion of 1877, when the Satsuma clan under Saigo rebelled against the more progressive element, and its suppression, ended all violent opposition to the new movement but its progress has been spiral and spasmodic rather than steadily upward.[1] There have been reactions against foreign influence and irritation. Yet the movement has never halted, nor has there ever been any doubt as to its reality or its permanence. The same is true of the progress of Christianity in Japan. It has not been at all regular. From 1859 to 1872, almost nothing that could be publicly shown had been accomplished. From 1872 to 1888, there was a flood-tide of interest in Christianity of which the opinion of Mr. Fukuzawa, already quoted, is illustrative. I asked Dr. Verbeck once for a statement of the cause of this peculiar interest, and he replied :

"(*a*) In the first place, everything foreign was in high vogue in this early period and there was a wide-spread desire on the part of the more advanced and enterprising classes to inquire into and, not infrequently, to adopt western ideas and things. Christianity got its full share of this general tendency during the years following the organization of the first churches in 1872 and 1873,—thirteen years after the opening of the country and barely four years after the Restoration.

"(*b*) Then there was also the attraction of a striking novelty attaching to Christianity.

"(*c*) But a chief cause lies in the fact that western science and art, home politics and journalism, foreign travel and commerce, manufactures and industries on foreign lines,—that all these were still in their infancy and had as yet attracted the attention of comparatively very few people. There was then hardly yet even an idea of an Imperial Parliament, political parties had not yet been organized, army and navy as we have them now had no existence, there were no railroad and steamboat companies, a few little newspapers had only just been started, and foreign diplomatic relations came within the scope of a few officials only. Hence the minds of the people at large were for the most part, as it were, unoccupied, and thus there existed then that remarkable openness for the entrance and reception of Christianity which was a surprise to many here and abroad.

"(*d*) All that has been enumerated under (*c*) to account for a remarkable kind of openness of the people's minds at that time, produced another leading cause of the prevailing impulse towards Christianity. The country and especially

[1] For a full account of the rebellion see Morrissey, *Satsuma Rebellion;* Black, *Young Japan*, London and Yokohama, 1881.

Tokyo and the open ports were at that time full of the 'unemployed,' and indeed of the very best class of people, the intelligent and more or less educated Samurai class. It was from this class that (with solitary exceptions) the early converts, teachers, evangelists and pastors were recruited. After the Restoration in 1868, and still more after the abolition of Feudalism about three years later, tens of thousands of this class were left without a career and not a few of them almost without a living,—especially those Samurai of the clans who had opposed the Restoration. When, after the Restoration, the time for the division of spoils (honour, rank, office, etc.) arrived, these latter Samurai were left out in the cold. Most if not all of Bishop Nicolai's (Greek) preachers and evangelists came from this very class, and so also did not a few of ours and of the other missions.

"(*e*) The severe edict against Christianity, which had been exposed for a couple of centuries on the public notice-boards throughout the land, was removed in February, 1873, and this memorable event made a deep impression even on minds otherwise neutral or indifferent.

"Such were some of the causes of the exceptional impulse towards Christianity in the early period of the mission work."

During this period it seemed for a time that Christianity was about to achieve one of the greatest triumphs of her history, and in 1887, the missionaries of the Council of Missions, cooperating with the Church of Christ in Japan, issued an appeal for great reinforcements on the ground that "this course will go far towards ending our work in the Empire." This appeal is so interesting that it should be preserved:

"There seem to us to be good reasons why we should put forth extraordinary efforts in Japan during the remaining years of this century.

"I. Unto this are we called. Japan is now in the midst of a great crisis in her history; and everything goes to show that the nation is in a marvellously receptive mood.

"After two centuries of seclusion, the country is suddenly open to the world. The Shogun is gone, the Mikado restored to power; and, with the suppression of the Satsuma revolt, the integrity of the empire established. With the reception of foreigners a new type of civilization has been welcomed. The telegraph stretches from one end of the land to the other. The mail service is admirable. Railways cross the country in various directions, and fleets of steamers ply from port to port up and down the coast. Banks and hospitals have been established. Daily newspapers abound. There is an excellent system of education culminating in a university. The army and navy are organized after foreign models. A new code of laws based upon those of Europe has been adopted. The recent proclamation issued in the name of the Empress recommends the adoption of foreign dress by the women of the country. In the year 1890 there is to be a Parliament. Certainly a nation that has seen such things

as these accomplished during the last quarter of a century may see great things done by the year 1900.

"But the movement now witnessed in Japan is not confined to such particulars as these. It includes also the question of religion. There can be no vigorous national life without some religion: Brahmanism and Mohammedanism are out of the question: Buddhism is condemned already: there remains only Christianity. That is the common position assumed by the press. And what the press encourages the Government allows. Ten years ago it was a question whether it would be permitted to build a church on a public street in the city of Tokyo; churches are now found in every direction. Once, it was with the greatest difficulty that a Japanese could be found to print a translation of one of the Gospels: now, large printing houses compete for the work of the Bible and Tract Societies; treatises on theology are printed and bound at the Government establishment; and the Scriptures, and Christian books, magazines and newspapers go everywhere freely. More than this: there are men now living who confessed Christ at the peril of their lives; and these same men are to-day preaching Christ in public halls and theatres to audiences that are glad to hear them. The tone of Buddhism is a tone of defeat; Christianity is confident of victory.

"This however is not all. Not only is Christianity a common theme—proclaimed upon the platform, discussed on the railway, queried about in the country inns: not only is it encouraged openly by the press and tacitly by the Government: it is rapidly crystallizing into churches. At the close of the last year (1886), there were connected with the United Church fifty-five organized churches, twenty-five of which are wholly self-supporting. There was a membership of 5,472. The ministers numbered twenty-eight, and the theological students forty-three. The contributions for the year amounted to more than ten thousand (Mexican) dollars. This is the report of the United Church alone; and others are doing likewise. The Board of Home Missions connected with the Synod is simply overwhelmed with applications. It is not rash to say that rightly directed labour in almost any town in the empire would end before long in an organized church.

"This then is our opportunity: such an opportunity as the modern church has never had vouchsafed to it. A century ago was heard once more a divine voice saying, Go teach all nations. And men asked, whither shall we go? To-day a man stands upon the shore of Japan crying, Come over into Asia and help us.

"And we must go now. This is reason: There is a tide in the affairs of men and of nations. It is Scripture also: When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent Peter and John. When tidings came from Antioch, the Church sent forth the Son of Exhortation. There is a time to reap. And it is into the harvest field above all places that our Lord bids us to pray that the labourers may be sent. Other nations may wait, but this nation cannot wait. For He is not dealing so with any other nation.

"II. Not only is such effort in Japan our duty; it is true wisdom, wise warfare.

"First: This course will go far towards ending our work in the empire. By this it is not meant that the close of the century will see all knowing the Lord, from the least to the greatest. But it does mean that there is good reason to hope that a vigorous aggressive church may then be planted in all parts of the land. It means that foreign missions may then give way to home missions. It means that so far as we are concerned, the Gospel of the Kingdom will have been preached as a witness in Japan. And when that is done the Church at home will be free to go elsewhere.

"Secondly: This course will yield us an early friend in Asia. The Church in the Sandwich Islands has done excellent service in the Pacific; but the Sandwich Islands are as nothing to Japan. For Japan is alive, energetic, eager—a nation with a destiny. And a Church of Christ in Japan would be throughout all Eastern Asia an ally that would be invaluable. Granted that the amount of effort needed to accomplish the task presented might (or might not) result in an equal number of individual believers scattered here and there over the world; still, as an ally in the near future, these would be but weak in comparison with a vigorous church in Japan.

"We do not forget that the field is the world. The question is merely one of method. No one church can preach the gospel to the whole creation. Even the apostle to the Gentiles made a choice among the Gentiles; and so must we. We must choose between nations and individuals in different nations. In doing this it may be that we must needs pass by Bithynia; but even so, let us go into Macedonia. What we press is Japan to-day in order to China to-morrow."

These hopes were not realized, not because reinforcements were not sent, but because there set in a reactionary movement that disappointed them. A spirit of intense nationalism grew up. The delay in treaty revision and in the abolition of extra territoriality vexed the people. Buddhism revived within and from without heresies and new superstitions came in, while the nation began to perceive the supposed separability of religion from life. When Dr. Verbeck was asked to explain the reaction he said: "In the first place, it must be well understood that the so-called reaction was by no means directed against Christianity alone, but that the advance of Christianity was simply much retarded by a general anti-foreign reaction. This reaction made itself felt against many other western things, such as foreign architecture (private), furniture and dress, languages and some of the arts, customs, manners and social intercourse and comity. With reference to this and some other western things, there set in a strong impulse towards the old and indigenous—at all events against many things new and foreign. An intense national

spirit was aroused, I should say somewhere between 1886 and 1888 and the advance of Christianity was much affected by it. Some thoroughly material and secular things, such as, for instance, railroads and steamboats, industry, commerce, army and navy, the secular sciences, were hardly at all affected by the national reaction and for assignable reasons. Christianity suffered from it more severely than some of the other things mentioned. But the reaction was not primarily or exclusively directed against Christianity." [1]

From 1888 to the present, the work of missions went on not less encouragingly, but with less startling progress, solidifying the place of Christianity, and strengthening the native church until in 1901 a revived interest swept over the empire and crowded many churches with inquirers, renewing in many hearts which had lost it the hope of the triumph of Christianity sooner or later in the nation which is sincerely bent on having the best that can be found in the world in every department of life and in the principles of life itself.[2]

And the transformation of Japan which we have been considering has created necessities, which can be met only by the triumph of

[1] "'The spirit of intense nationalism' which 'grew up' and by preventing that speedy and complete conquest of Japan by Christianity caused such bitter disappointment," writes the Rev. J. W. Doughty, formerly of Japan, "is something that it seems to me few foreigners understand either in its nature or in its intensity. It is not merely the protest of the evil against the good, or of conservatism against progress, or of the East against the West or even of paganism against the Christian faith. It has to some the appearance of representing all of these and it is perhaps tinctured by all and is therefore all the more misunderstood. As a matter of fact it is in its essence *a protest against arbitrary and unreasonable change.* So far as Christianity was concerned it was the attempt to impose upon the Japanese people the religion as modified in its forms and coloured in its teachings by the philosophical and theological notions and the customs peculiar to western nations, the roots of which moreover are often to be found outside of Christianity, that called forth this intense protest. Christianity *is one* but nevertheless it is shaped and formed and infused by the spirit of every separate nation in which it exists. There is no people in the world with an intenser national spirit than the Japanese. I am satisfied that it is only *essential* Christianity that is making progress in Japan. Those who are building denominations and sects are deceived and those who endeavour to transplant western customs work in vain. The different churches in Japan are separated from each other simply by the foreigner. Shortly after these are removed the national spirit will weld them into one or rather it will cause them to coalesce. The Japanese are intensely rational and practical and are not to be kept in bondage by the prejudices of any. They will ultimately come into their own, and I am extremely hopeful that they will choose the best and give the world a glorious type of the Christian faith. The spirit of intense nationalism is therefore not, I think, an enemy to Christianity but a friend."

[2] Edit. "Religious Future of Japan," *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 10, 1897.

Christianity, on the supposition, of course, that the transformation that has taken place is real and permanent. Who can believe otherwise? As Captain Brinkley says: "No one that knows Japan can doubt that her permeation with the spirit of Western civilization is deep and genuine. To speak of her as a country possessing the veneer of civilization is the idle babbling of a fool." The Japanese, themselves, have no doubt that the change is abiding. "To those accustomed to listen to Japanese sermons and addresses," says Dr. Gordon, "the two phrases not strictly religious which become most familiar from constant repetition are bummei (civilization) and Shin Nippon (New Japan). There are no prophecies of the coming of a new nation, no arguments to prove an impending national regeneration; it is always taken for granted that the new nation is already here and to stay."[1] Whatever may be said of Japanese character generally, it is certain that the men who have thus far guided the New Japan are men of modesty, of good sense, of sincerity, of clear understanding of their problem, and of resolute purpose to achieve the end they see before them. The Imperial Proclamation issued at the close of the China War expresses their spirit: "Gratified as we are," the Emperor said, "that the victories recently obtained have enhanced the glory of the Empire, we are nevertheless sensible that the road still to be traversed by the country in its march of civilization is long and arduous. We hope in common with our loyal subjects to be constantly on the watch against any feeling of self content and ever in the spirit of modesty to labour, etc." And the spirit of the people as a whole is such as to support the conviction that the new life of the nation is a new life, and that the Meiji Era is to be a really new era in the national history. Once and forever Japan has broken with Orientalism and thrown in her lot with the life of the civilized world, and her people are able to endure and accept the education which they will need for this. I once asked a foreigner who had been long a resident of Japan and who knew the Japanese as well as any foreigner knew them, for his frank opinion about Japanese character and with the understanding that it would not be published at that time, he gave it to me:

[1] Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, p. 221; Beaulieu, "*Awakening of the East*, p. 173; *The Far East*, Vol. I, No. 9, October 20, 1896, p. 10; No. 1. February 20, 1896, pp. 10–13.

"The clever author of *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes* (a former British Minister in Japan), says: 'It must always be remembered that Old Japan had no Judea to teach her religion, no Greece to teach her culture, and no Rome to teach her political science.' The marks of these grave deficiencies are perceptible in nearly all the manifestations of even the modern spirit of Japan, and are likely to continue to be so for yet a long time to come.

"I would also recommend on the present topic a contribution by the Rev. S. A. Barnett to the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1892, entitled 'Christianity in the East.' Mr. Barnett therein depicts the characteristics of the spirit of India, of China, and of Japan; and although he may sometimes magnify and sometimes minify some one or other of the characteristics he depicts, yet on the whole gives one a good insight into the true character of Orientals in general and of the Japanese in particular.

"A striking feature in the Japanese character is their intense ambition, a desire to advance and rise, not to be behind or below anybody. This feeling pervades all classes and must be regarded as a potent factor in the nation's astounding progress during the last thirty years. It is a valuable stimulus and often very laudable; but foreigners may sometimes come into unpleasant contact with it. The strongly prevailing national spirit, in itself sufficiently honourable, frequently manifests itself towards foreigners in the form of unbounded conceit and persistent self-assertion. Self-sufficiency and self-reliance are also prominent characteristics. Mere boys will often be seen to 'rush in' where Western doctors would 'fear to tread.' Virtue and anything like high morality, as we understand these, are well-nigh unknown quantities to them. (I am now speaking of the 'outside of the church.') Sincerity, frankness and truthfulness are largely wanting. Manners are their morals; *etiquette* is their *ethique*, all surface work, you know.

"The Japanese are, according to their lights, bright, intelligent, quick-witted and fond of criticising others, especially foreigners; but exceedingly dislike being censured in any way and are extremely sensitive to public opinion, good or bad, —nay, to the outside world's opinion of them as a nation. They are remarkably brave, enterprising and capable of great self-sacrifice for a definite purpose, but are frequently found wanting in moral courage. They dislike being under obligation to others, especially to foreigners. They are naturally kind, benevolent, and towards children over-indulgent, but are devoid of a forgiving spirit,—they never forgive what they happen to regard as an injury or an insult.

"The Japanese are exceedingly frivolous, are lacking seriousness in their disposition and abound in levity, are little affected by the grand or the sublime, have few enthusiasms and inspirations, are too fickle to know true placidity of mind and too callous to escape from falling into cold indifference, have little acquaintance with deep sorrow, and 'there is no fifty-first Psalm in their language and no Puritan in their history.'

"One often hears the Japanese charged with extreme fickleness, especially in comparison with the Chinese. This charge, I think, requires to be somewhat

qualified. During the feudal régime, for about three centuries, they surely were sufficiently steady and conservative. The Chinese as a nation have not yet emerged from that kind of stagnancy, whereas the Japanese have entered on the path of human progress. The present generation of Japanese lives and moves in an age of change in all departments of life, in an age of transition from the old to the new. In things material as well as immaterial they are making for something better and something higher than what they were and had by heredity and transmission from of old. The Japanese are quick-witted and apt to jump to a conclusion without sufficient knowledge or examination; hence they readily enter upon a thing quite new to them. It does not take them long to find out that they have made a mistake, or perhaps they are disappointed, while at the same time it is likely that another 'good thing' has attracted their attention. And so they go in for that, and (please don't smile) so on. But by and by, when they have finally hit upon the right thing, they are quite steady and often splendidly persevering; witness, *e. g.*, the numerous small and great enterprises, often involving hundreds of thousands of money, carried on by them at this present time without the least foreign aid, with profit and success. You may see the above-described process acted out before your eyes every day outside of the churches and sometimes inside of the churches; but when inside of the churches it has happened that the final stage of the process was not attained to by individuals, it was usually in pretty clear cases of *1 John 2 : 19*.

"Probably on account of their unacquaintance with the certainties of science, the average Japanese have no clear idea of the fixity, certainty and reality of things or the nature of things, especially of immaterial things. They do not conceive that things *are what they are*, quite independently of man's opinion and liking or disliking. To most Japanese, things *are* what they themselves and this one or that one make them to be by their opinions.

"As regards the present attitude of the non-Christian spirit of Japan towards Christianity, I think it may be said to regard our religion with more or less of appreciation and respect. But the upper classes look upon the native Christians, especially upon the pastors, with a good deal of doubt and suspicion. They sometimes express wonder at the confidence placed in them; but this is mostly from not really knowing them.

"My answer to this question is of necessity very general. On going more into detail, there are of course many exceptions and qualifications to be made, and these will become more numerous and weighty when different classes of society are under consideration. But on the whole 'the dominant characteristics of the present spirit of Japan outside of the churches' are such as are here briefly stated. Finally, comparing the Japanese with other races, I should say that their general spirit and character approach the Latin and Slavonic races of Europe much more nearly than they do the Anglo-Saxon race.

"On a reperusal of this answer, I almost feel as if I had been too hard on these good people. In order somewhat to adjust the balance, I may here add that the Japanese are the nicest and brightest people to fall in with and live

among. I am not surprised to see that many travellers are quite smitten with them. During many years of close intercourse with them, I myself have never had the least difficulty with the non-Christian Japanese, have experienced nothing but kindness and respect at their hands, and have many friends among them."[1]

The troubling of conscience that came to this student of Japanese character lest his judgment was unduly severe was doubtless warranted. I think he himself would pronounce a more favourable judgment to-day. I believe these people are capable, with the Gospel, of accepting and contributing to the civilization of the West.

But the problems which their acceptance of that civilization has introduced cannot be solved without the Gospel. "The new form of existence chosen by Japan," says Dr. Wainwright, "is more highly ethical in character and makes enormous demands on the moral and intellectual resources of the nation. Conscience must play a greater part and assert itself with greater power where outward restraint has been removed. Where prejudice, self-interest and habit must drop out and conduct be squared to principle and where mighty impulses and energies must be held in check and made to minister to man's higher needs."[2] Furthermore, the new civilization in Japan has introduced some ideas which demand others as their correlatives and for their completion. "The rights of private judgment and of religious liberty are two important corollaries of the Christian principle of individual worth. These are fully recognized in Japan, legally and popularly. There is practically no persecution to-day in Japan. Personal moral responsibility is another corollary. Individual choice determines individual character. From being highly communal, the new social order has become highly individualistic. As in no previous age of Japanese history, every man is left to determine his own place in life, his own education, his own profession or occupation, and his own moral character. This fact accounts at once for the rapidly growing immorality of new Japan, and for the equally rapid development among all serious-minded men of the belief that Japan is in need of a new religion, and this, regardless of the fact that they make no practice of believing in any religion themselves. Now it is manifest to him who will give the matter careful thought,

[1] See also editorial, "Racial Constancy and Inconstancy," *Kobe Chronicle*, June 23, 1902.

[2] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 237.

that only an individualistic religion can meet the moral demands of an individualistic age. A religion therefore which calls on every man to decide for himself his own moral nature and destiny by a prompt and decided moral choice, at the same time providing him with high ideals, powerful religious sanctions and adequate spiritual power, only such a religion can cope with the moral looseness of an age, that gives to each man complete freedom to decide all things for himself."[1] This age-spirit and Christianity are indissolubly interlocked. It is the great force which produced this spirit. It alone can control it. Japan having accepted the age-spirit has brought herself under the immense necessities it creates without any religion able to meet these necessities.[2]

The country already feels this and will feel it more acutely.[3] It is felt now in the want of clean moral sanction. It will be felt in economic difficulty. The old communal responsibilities are destroyed. The age of individual action and independence has set in. The ideas of individual responsibility have not been developed and cannot be without the religion which alone can produce them. What will be the economic effect in a society where in 1896, cotton mill operators worked eleven hours a day with average wages for males of

[1] *Christendom Anno Domini*, 1901, Vol. I, p. 294.

[2] Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, pp. 417–419.

[3] "The change that has been going on for many years in the religious thought and life in Japan has been particularly marked during the past year. In a recent address to young men, Count Okuma (who was at one time Prime Minister, and is still one of the leading statesmen of the country), said, 'It is a question whether we have not lost moral fibre as the result of the many new influences to which we have been subjected. Development has been intellectual and not moral. The efforts which Christians are making to supply to the country a high standard of conduct are welcomed by all right-thinking people. As you read the Bible you may think it is antiquated, out of date. The words it contains may so appear, but the noble life which it holds up to admiration is something that will never be out of date, however much the world may progress. Live and preach this life and you will supply to the nation just what it needs at the present juncture.'

"In an address at the tenth anniversary of the Y. M. C. A. in Tokyo, Baron Mayejima (a former member of the Cabinet), said, 'I firmly believe we must have religion as the basis of our national and personal welfare. No matter how large an army or navy we may have, unless we have righteousness as the foundation of our national existence we shall fall short of the highest success. I do not hesitate to say that we must have religion for our highest welfare. And when I look about me to see what religion we may best rely upon, I am convinced that the religion of Christ is the one most full of strength and promise for the nation'" (*Annual Report of the Bible Societies' Committee for Japan*, 1903, pp. 2f.).

ten cents gold a day, and for females of five cents gold.[1] An economic society founded on the secular principles of Western civilization, stripped of all the qualification introduced by the influence of Christianity and its preservative principles is painful to contemplate. But it is before Japan.[2]

The new era has created a demand for a new type of moral character and integrity. Writers on Japan often allude to the high type of honour developed under the old feudal society. There is a great measure of truth in such representations, just as in admiration of the high honour and principle of knights and Crusaders in Christendom. But those standards of honour are not generally accepted now and the business life of the world is conducted on a code of integrity far more exacting and lofty, if less picturesque and fanciful. And no need is more felt in Japan than the need of such integrity. This is the testimony of the entire foreign business community and of the best natives.[3] Now unreliability of moral character can only be remedied by a force that can re-create character. But "the old religions being practically divorced from ethics and lacking a world-view which justifies itself either to science or philosophy, lack the requisite sanctions and are consequently quite incompetent to do this needful work."[4] The Japanese are agreed that the need exists, whether Christianity is needed to meet it or not. The papers complain of the looseness of morals, of the want of character, of "the blow that science has dealt religion" in weakening the sanctions of the old faiths and supplying nothing new.[5] Baron Iwasaki in a recent address on "The Cure of Current Maladies" frankly sets forth the situation:

"Simultaneously with the reconstruction of our social orders since the Restoration, the former system of morality received a death-blow, while a new system of manners and morality adapted to the requirements of the new order of things has yet to be established. Observing the way in which our men of affairs, whether in public or in private walks, discharge their duties; and remarking how they observe discipline, how they conduct themselves in public, what ideas they entertain as to honour and good manners, that is, studying the matter from all possible points of view, it must unfortunately be admitted that the good moral tone of

[1] *Japan Weekly Mail*, February 8, 1896.
[2] Norman, *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, pp. 389f; Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, Ch. XXXV.
[3] *Japan Evangelist*, January, 1897, p. 117.
[4] *Christendom Anno Domini*, 1901, Vol. I, p. 309.
[5] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 10, 1897, p. 38.

Old Japan has altogether disappeared. What we have thus lost in the process of transition, we have not yet succeeded in replacing by the moral tone of European countries. Our efforts are now chiefly directed to the perfection of our outward and material progress. To attempt to overtake the Occidental countries by pursuing such a policy, would be as foolish as to try to go east by turning the horse's head to the west. . . .

"To expect real progress in this way, would be as absurd as to look forward to a harvest without sowing seeds. You will now easily understand me, when I say that the ill-success attending many of our recent efforts in commercial and industrial lines is the inevitable consequence of the lack of the proper sense of responsibility on the part of the men charged with the management of those enterprises. . . .

"Our country has maintained a unique and unsullied existence as a nation during the twenty-five centuries of her history, the last thirty odd years of which have been rendered memorable by a surprising progress in things material. But unless we now turn our attention to the nourishing of our *moral nature*, how will it be possible to place our progress on a sure and permanent basis?"[1]

Many attempts have been made to meet the unavoidable necessities of the new situation without having recourse to Christianity. Some have proposed a revival and adaptation of the Confucian ethics which have constituted the principles of most educated Japanese. Count Matsukata satisfied himself thus.[2] In explaining the general indifference to religion among Japanese statesmen, Count Okuma offered the suggestion that the whole body of their thought was imbued with Confucianism. But at a time when Confucianism has broken down completely on its own soil, no enthusiasm can be got up for its revival elsewhere, and instead of being able to command attention in Japan, its influence there is doomed. The proposed removal of Chinese literature from the curriculum of the middle schools and its certain decadence of influence in every sphere involves sooner or later the rejection of this old and inadequate basis of ethics and philosophy.[3]

[1] *The Japan Times*, February 6th, 1903.

[2] *Japan Evangelist*, November, 1896, p. 39.

[3] "It is worth while," said Dr. Greene in the paper read at the Tokyo Conference, from which I have several times quoted, "to note two remarkable addresses delivered in the early summer of 1895, one by Professor Iyenaga, then of the Keio Gijiku, Mr. Fukuzawa's famous University and later of the Higher Commercial School of Tokyo; and the other by Marquis Saionji, at that time Minister of Education. Professor Iyenaga maintained that deeds like the attempted assassination of Li Hung Chang could not be treated as mere sporadic cases of crime, but that they were the legitimate result of the defects of the Confucian

Shintoism and Buddhism have been offered in all emendations as the solution of the difficulty. At the beginning of the new era the Government made an attempt to fuse the two, to supply the religious sanctions of patriotism and morality. And repeatedly since, one or the other, sublimated and made as much as possible to resemble Christianity in its essential principles as these appeared to the manipulators, has been offered as a remedy for the confessed existing evils, but in vain. As a native paper declared, "Buddhism has reached the height of corruption and has no influence among the upper classes. Shintoism retains only a feeble influence." Both are conspicuous enough and hold firmly enough, however, the faith of a great mass of the people, but both have shown their total inability to provide for the necessities of a situation which they had no power to create or to prevent.[1]

The nation has tried education on a grand scale, with no ethical teaching except utilitarianism.[2] The result has been inevitable decay of religious faith, of which "the greatest cause," as a Japanese paper declares, "is to be found in the materialistic principle of our national education. While it is wrong to mix up religion and education, it is also wrong for teachers and writers of text-books to affirm that there is no necessity for religion. Such an assumption brings fearful harm upon the nation. . . . If teachers would teach the necessity for religion instead of delivering lectures on atheism, it could not fail to greatly benefit the children." And the *Shukyo* declares that the majority of school-teachers are ignorant of what true religion is and that accordingly the youth of the country are being educated without any knowledge of the religious ideal in life.[3] If some say that reverence for the Emperor is taught as well as materialistic ethics, it may be replied that even granting that that may serve to feed the spirit of patriotism, there is nothing in the repeated reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education and in bowing to the Emperor's shrine, that will strengthen the weak will or build integrity in the life.

system and proved its incompatability with the facts of modern life. The Marquis Saionji in similar terms condemned the deficiencies of the old system and indicated that his administration would favour a broader and more cosmopolitan view of social obligations" (*Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 91).

[1] See Eitel, *Three Lectures on Buddhism*, p. 95.

[2] *Japan Weekly Mail*, "The Educational Department's System of Ethics," July 8, 1889, pp. 378–381.

[3] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 10, 1897, p. 37.

Realizing the need of something more than the slim utilitarian ethics of the schools, repeated attempts have been made to devise some ethical system which would be congenial to the national traditions, conciliate the prejudices of various minds, and meet the pressing moral needs of the time. Some have contended that the spirit of Bushido, of military feudalism, the admiration of rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honour, loyalty, would suffice.[1] The common view among the more intelligent is set forth by Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro:

"One of the results of the free intercourse carried on in modern times between different nations is the thorough transformation of the world. Old things have passed away, as far as advanced countries are concerned, behold all things have become new. Is religion alone to be left behind in the race? Does any intelligent man think that the Christianity and Buddhism that satisfied our ancestors and which is being propagated in our midst to-day is in touch with the spirit and the tendency of the present age. Belief in traditional Buddhism and Christianity produces feelings and opinions that are out of sympathy and even directly antagonistic to the progressive spirit of the age. A child needs toys. Buddhism and Christianity are toys of the past. (*Kodomo wa omocha wo yo su, Kiritsutokyo to Bukkyo wa kwako no omocha pari.*) It is because of this unsuitability of the existing creeds for the use of educated people in these times that I maintain that we need a new religion. I don't mean to pretend that the establishment of a new religion would entirely destroy existing creeds. Buddhism and Christianity would still be followed by a large number of people, but the more progressive minds, the enlightened among mankind, would give their support to a form of faith that was abreast of the age and that did no violence to their scientific belief. The old creeds would doubtless be accepted by the uneducated and the stagnant-minded, but the leaders of thought would rally round the new standard.

"The tendency of the age is to believe in what is world-wide and what is real, the new religion proposed would be no more than an instrument for giving full expression to the general impulse. Such a religion would of course reject all existing articles of faith as possessing no inherent authority whatever. Articles of faith drawn up in one age are not binding on after ages in any way, as they only embody the opinions of those who formulated them. A living faith is the only thing that possesses any power and this has its seat in the heart of each individual believer."[2]

Others have drawn up new decalogues, like that of the Kodokai:

[1] *Christendom Anno Domini*, 1901, Vol. I, 291; Nitobe, *Bushido, the Soul of Japan; Independent*, September 19, 1901, Art. "The Hopes of Japan," p. 2211.

[2] From an abstract published in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, February 8, 1902, of an article by Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, in the *Tetsugaku Zasshi*.

"1. Be loyal to the Sovereign, filial to parents, and reverence divine beings.

"2. Respect the Imperial Family and love your country.

"3. Observe the laws of your country and strive to promote the national interests.

"4. Study hard in the pursuance of knowledge and be mindful of health.

"5. Devote the best efforts to your profession or vocation.

"6. Make a peaceful home and love your neighbours.

"7. Be faithful and benevolent.

"8. Take care not to injure another's interests. Practice charity.

"9. Do not indulge in the pleasures of drinking and debauchery. Make no unjust gains.

"10. As to religion, you may believe in any you choose, but be careful to avoid one that is injurious to your country."[1]

The great dream, however, about which Lord Curzon has a foolish word to say,[2] has been of a universal system of ethics on one hand, or of a special nationalistic system on the other. The ultimate fact simply is that the nation has no system. As Mr. Murata Tsutomu wrote in a recent magazine article, comparing the course of events in Japan during the Meiji Era with Italian History at the time of the Renaissance: "In Italy the time of the Renaissance politically and morally was anything but bright. The unrest caused by imbibing so many new ideas led men to doubt the reliability of ancient institutions and rules of life. This experience has, as regards morality, been repeated here. To-day, it would be hard to say what moral standard controls our lives. Some appeal to Confucianism, some to

[1] *Japan Evangelist*, September, 1897, pp. 332f.

[2] "When Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Evangelicals, Lutherans, Church of England, Methodists, Reformed, Russian Orthodox, Quakers, Unitarians, and Universalists appear simultaneously upon the scene, each claiming to hold the keys of heaven in their hand, it cannot be thought surprising if the Japanese, who have hardly made up their minds that they want a heaven at all, are somewhat bewildered by the multiplicity of volunteer doorkeepers. Were the ethical teachings of the Bible to be offered to them in a systematized body of precept and of prayer they might turn a willing ear. Nay, I doubt not that a committee of Japanese experts would undertake to-morrow the codification of the moral, just as they have already done that of the civil and criminal law; and that they would turn out for the edification of their fellow-countrymen an admirable synthesis of the ethics of all time. Who shall say whether the new Japan may not yet undertake this momentous task?" (Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*, English edition, p. 30).

Buddhism or Christianity. Others still more equally speak of the Nippon Shugi or the Imperial Rescript on education as furnishing guides to life. But the truth is Japan is at present without a standard of ethics." [1]

It is not strange that the Japanese should turn to some readjustment of their own systems, or to some other ethical device rather than to Christianity, as a religion. On the heels of the missionary proclamation of Christianity as the religion of the West, came representations that Christianity was already an antiquated system even in the West. Agents of agnosticism, personal and literary in Japan, and the speedy perception by the thinking class of the nation of the spread of agnosticism in the West led to the idea that there was something in advance even of Christianity. Count Ito had come back from Germany in 1885 as the Iwakura Embassy had come from the West in 1873, with deep impressions of the sincerity of the West's belief in Christianity. These impressions were weakened by the growth of the agnostic and positivist influence and by the study on the part of the Japanese of the national actions of Western Governments. The *Nippon Shimbun* comments on the queer notions of humanity and justice displayed by the West towards China. "The ethics of Westerners are to the Nippon very inexplicable. It proceeds to quote Chwang tze against the European politicians. The sage was asked whether morality existed among thieves. He replied much as follows: 'Is there any place where morality does not exist? The five virtues are all exemplified by thieves. In perceiving that there are treasures in people's houses, they show sagacity. In each striving to be first to get into a house, they display courage. In striving not to be first to escape from a house, they show a regard for what is right. In determining whether a house should be entered or not, they display intelligence and in the consideration they show to each other when dividing the spoil, they display benevolence. Without these five virtues, no big robbery could succeed.' This applies to the doings of Europeans on the neighbouring continent. . . . If their conduct is to be the standard, a pretty low level will be reached." [2] And Dr. Kato, dis-

[1] Abstract in *Japan Weekly Mail*, August 26, 1899; *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1899, pp. 186–189.

[2] *Japan Weekly Mail*, September 29, 1900.

cussing the "Evolution of Morality and Law," holds that the example of Western states shows that they do not recognize any universal ethical principles and are indeed unqualifiedly un-Christian in their dealings with alien nations.[1] It is not at all surprising that Japan soon qualified the representations of the missionaries and concluded that Christianity was not indispensable.

Yet as a matter of fact, it is not only indispensable now, but has played an indispensable part in the transformation through which the country has already passed. There are many, of course, who deny this, or who, if admitting the influence of Christianity, will not allow that it was exerted in any conspicuous or effective way through the missionaries. Dr. Nitobe, who yet declares his personal belief in Christianity, explicitly says: "Some writers have lately tried to prove that Christian missionaries contributed an appreciable quota to the making of New Japan. I would fain render honour to whom

[1] "The Intuitionists and the believers in a fixed order of nature among philosophers hold that in their dealings with each other men of all nationalities are bound to act in conformity with morality and law. To Utilitarians this demand seems unreasonable. Those who maintain the above-named theory are of opinion that morality and law of universal applicability and authority exist. But Utilitarians do not accept this view. They hold that such morality and law as exist, exist for the sake of consolidating and benefiting certain States; that they have no authority over other States, being in some cases opposed to the morality and law of other States. Hence it follows that in the dealings of one State with another interest dictates what principles of morality and law are to be observed. In actual practice to-day, there is no such thing as the invariable following of an abstract moral principle by a number of countries. Just as no society can exist without the observation of certain rules of action, so in international dealings certain principles have to be observed. Their choice is dictated by utility and nothing beside. This is the guiding principle of modern international transactions of all kinds. It must be admitted that high class morality would require that acts which, when committed against one's own countrymen, would be universally condemned as bad, should be considered as equally bad when committed against foreigners. But no such code of morals is practiced by the leading nations of the world. On the contrary, arbitrariness, aggression, injustice, cruelty, oppression, and the like, all receive public approval when alien races are the subjects under treatment. The answer to the question which forms the heading of this chapter, 'Within what limits are morality and law necessary?' is, their use is confined to the State by which they are observed, and they are only to be used *vis-à-vis* foreign States in so far as interest allows. So that in the matter of the applicability of certain maxims and codes to foreigners, the practice of the uncivilized, who have no respect for foreign property and foreign lives, and that of the highly civilized, who feel at liberty to violate all the maxims of home morality in dealing with alien races, occupy the same position. Each party practically denies the universal and impartial applicability of law and morality" (Article on "The Evolution of Morality and Law," *The Japan Weekly Mail*, August 25, 1900; see also *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, pp. 53f.; *The Far East*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 17, February 20, 1896).

honour is due. But this honour can hardly be accorded to the good missionaries. . . . As yet Christian missions have effected but little in moulding the character of the New Japan. . . . No, it was Bushido pure and simple that urged us on."[1] Some missionaries would be very modest in their claims here who yet would assert unequivocally the supreme influence of Christianity in the transformation. "In Japan," says one, "the new life and energy may not have come so directly from a religious source, yet they have come from contact with Christian nations and are indirectly, at least, the product of Christian thought,"[2] and another, waiving the question of the influence of missionaries in producing the past changes is content to claim that the obvious fact cannot be denied that Japan now bases her laws and legal and other practices on the principles of constitutionalism, resting on two fundamental assumptions, the worth of the individual and the universal rule of reason in the State, both historically and essentially the product of Christianity. "Notwithstanding the polytheism and superstition of millions of individuals," Mr. Gulick goes on, "the intellectual framework of the state and the determinative characteristics of the entire social order are Christian in substance and origin, although not yet recognized as such by the people."[3] Dr. Gordon does not claim more than that Japan is largely a product of Christian influences of which missions were but one, but he claims for the direct influence of Christian missions a place close beside that of Christian civilization.[4] It would be no discredit to missions in Japan if their influence in producing the Meiji transformation had been slight. They did not go to Japan to produce a revolution. They went to plant a life in the people which would in due time have wrought out such a change as the co-operation of other forces with missions, even obscuring the force of missions, has produced with unexpected and wholly unprecedented speed and thoroughness.

At the same time, Christian missions and missionaries have exerted an appreciable influence of indispensable value. They raised up a body of men, who almost from the beginning as pronounced Chris-

[1] *Bushido, The Soul of Japan*, p. 115.
[2] *Tokyo Conference Report*, p. 98.
[3] *Christendom Anno Domini, 1901*, Vol. I, p. 292.
[4] *An American Missionary in Japan*, pp. 228, 231.

tian men exerted an open and unmistakable Christian influence. There are about 120,000 Christians in Japan. Including children, whom the Protestants do not report as church members, and other adherents, the number is probably about 225,000 or one half of one per cent. of the population. Any stranger going to Japan would be impressed at once with the place assigned to this small body in all newspaper discussions of the moral condition of the country. The respect accorded to it, the demands made upon it and the influence it exerts are out of all proportion to its size. It has already "furnished one cabinet minister, two justices of the national Supreme Court, two speakers of the Lower House of the Diet, one of them having been four times elected; two or three vice-ministers of State; not to speak of several heads of bureaux; judges of the Court of Appeals, etc. In the first Diet, besides the Speaker (Mr. Nakashima)[1] the Chairman of the Whole and eleven other members of the House, were Christians, out of the 300 members of the House, nearly nine times the normal proportion. In subsequent Diets, the proportion has never been less than four times the normal." In the Diet of 1900 besides the speaker thirteen members of the House were Christians, and among them were to be found some of the most efficient men in the Diet. One of them was elected in a strongly Buddhist district by a majority of five to one. The late Mr. Kataoka Kenkichi, four times Speaker of the Diet, was an elder in the Presbyterian Church, who held prayer meetings in his house over parliamentary questions and who repeatedly refused to purchase political power, which he subsequently acquired without such purchase, by the compromise of his Christian faith. At his death, in November, 1903, the Emperor sent 1,000 yen for the funeral expenses and 20,000 mourners were about his grave.

In the Executive Committee of the Liberal Party in 1899, two out of the three members were Christians, while for the year 1900 the ratio was one to three in the same committee. In the Army there are said to be 155 Christian officers, that is about three per cent. and of the Navy, Mr. Loomis said in his report of the Bible Societies' Committee of 1900, "Eighteen years ago, the agent of the American Bible Society went to one of the Japanese men-of-war—then lying in the harbor of Uraga and asked if he could bring some copies of the Gospel

[1] See sketch in *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1899, pp. 172–175.

on board. He was refused permission to come on board at all. The two largest battleships in the Japanese Navy were recently under the command of Christian officers, one of whom is an Admiral." The late Admiral Serata was a Presbyterian elder, at one time President of the Young Men's Christian Association in Tokyo, and a zealous worker for Christ until the day of his death. Admiral Uriu who destroyed the Russian ships at Chemulpo, is a Christian. "Not less than three of the great dailies in Tokyo are largely in the hands of Christian men, while in the case of several others, Christians are at the head of departments on the Editorial staff."[1] This disproportionate influence of Christianity was seen with sharpest clearness and in circumstances which proved it to be the product of missions in the provincial assemblies at their organization, when the Christians held a position of great importance and contributed towards the new development of Japan.[2]

The influence of Dr. Verbeck, however forgotten by some and so modestly exerted that it was unknown to many, was unquestionably

[1] *Tokyo Conference Report*, pp. 95, 96.

[2] "A few years ago the central Government, doubtless with the wise purpose of educating its people in legislative processes, instituted legislative assemblies in the different prefectures into which the country has been divided since 1871. These assemblies possessed very limited powers at first, the limitations being gradually removed as they gained the wisdom of experience. To these local assemblies a few Christians were chosen, and it was found that, just as it was in the formative period of our own free and representative Government, the best preparation for the legislator's duties had been the preaching of the ministers of the Gospel. The little churches of Japan had been schools for training statesmen. To speak of external things first, the deliberations and decisions of individual churches, and of conferences and presbyteries, were a most valuable training in public speaking and in parliamentary methods, and made the Christians familiar in a most practical way with representative institutions, and Government by majority as an integral part of them. But more than this had happened. In so far as their minds were filled with the spirit of Christ they had come to look upon all men as their brothers and equals, and to feel under a constant constraint to labour with unselfish devotion to make men better and happier. In other words, Christianity had given them principles and, to a certain extent, methods of action. This gave them immense advantage as legislators over many of their colleagues who had neither the Christians' moral and intellectual training, nor the same courage of their convictions. The result was, that the Christians almost invariably came into prominence as disinterested and capable legislators. The measures for the public weal advocated and often carried to a successful issue by these men led to their appointment to important positions in these local assemblies, and indirectly to their increase in numbers. Thus in Gumma prefecture, where Christian principles had been most ably and fearlessly advocated and carried into practice, there were in its assembly, a year or two ago, nine Protestant Christians, including the chairman and vice-chairman, out of a total membership of sixty" (Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, pp. 236f.).

effective in promoting and guiding the transformation. If he had done nothing else, he would have done enough to deserve credit for one of the most powerful influences in producing the New Japan in his proposal of the Iwakura Embassy, to his friend and pupil Okuma, in 1869. That Embassy was organized according to Dr. Verbeck's plans. He had the appointment of two of its members. He laid out the route. "There is a tacit understanding," he wrote, "between Iwakura and myself that I shall leave the outward honour of initiating this Embassy to themselves. And who cares for the mere name and honour, if we are sure to reap the benefits, toleration and its immense consequences, partly now, but surely after the return of the Embassy."[1] Neesima was called to serve on this Embassy when it reached the United States. It was a new opportunity for the exercise of Christian influence upon its members, and it was the beginning of Neesima's great career as a maker of New Japan.[2] The return of the Embassy to Japan had all the consequences that Dr. Verbeck had anticipated. It was followed by the removal of the edict boards prohibiting Christianity. That had been anticipated by Dr. Verbeck, who a few days before the removal, submitted to his friend, the Minister of Religious Affairs, a "Rough Sketch of Laws and Regulations for the better control of Church Affairs in Japan," an anticipation of the Religions Bill of 1899. The return of the Embassy was followed also by the resolution to establish an educational system, and Dr. Verbeck was called upon to found the Imperial University and to aid in educational organization.

In innumerable silent ways Dr. Verbeck helped and guided the new movement. He was one of the official translators of the Code Napoleon, with some modifications, the law of the Empire. "How much aid he rendered the politicians of the Meiji Era in carrying out their progressive campaign," says the *Japan Daily Mail*, "we cannot begin to estimate."[3] "The present civilization of Japan owes much to his services," said the *Kokumin no Tomo* at the time of his death. "Of the distinguished statesmen and scholars of the present, many

[1] Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 262.

[2] Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesmia*, pp. 116f.

[3] Dr. Edward Abbott, in a letter to the New York *Evening Post* (December 19, 1903) quotes a remark made to him in Tokyo by Colonel Buck, the United States Minister to Japan, to the effect that the result of his observations in Japan was that Christian missions had done more for the advancement of the Japanese people than all other influences and forces put together.

are those who studied under his guidance. That during his forty years' residence in this land, he could witness the germ, the flower and the fruit of his labour, must have been gratifying to him. It should be remembered by our people that this benefactor, teacher and friend of Japan, prayed for the welfare of this Empire until he breathed his last."

Nor was Dr. Verbeck the only man who came to Japan with missionary purpose and found it to be part of his missionary work to help to create and mould the new national life. Through his influence, many came to teach in the Government schools, of the spirit of President Clark who refused to promise not to speak of Christianity for three years, declaring, "It is impossible for a Christian to dwell three years in the midst of a pagan people and yet keep entire silence on the subject nearest his heart."[1] And other missionaries like Dr. McCartee gave unmistakable assistance. It was Dr. McCartee who guided the first diplomatic relations of the new era between China and Japan, and he helped to found the scientific department of the new University.

A great service was rendered by the missionaries to which the West gives very little thought. Mr. Fukuzawa's paper, the *Jiji Shimpo* stated this service. In the early days of Japanese intercourse with foreigners, it declared, "there can be no doubt that many serious troubles would have occurred had not the Christian missionary not only showed to the Japanese the altruistic side of the Occidental character, but also by his teaching and his preaching imparted a new and attractive aspect to the intercourse which otherwise would have been masterful and repellent. The Japanese cannot thank the missionary too much for the admirable leaven that he introduced into their relation with foreigners."[2] Count Okuma once expressed frankly his opinion of European character as seen in Japan: "Comparing Europeans and Japanese, I do not think that the Europeans then (thirty years ago) in Japan were a particularly high class of persons; nor do I think that those here now are particularly high class."[3] There is no doubt that Japan was often irritated, almost beyond endur-

[1] See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. II, p. 603; Uchimura, *The Diary of a Japanese Convert*.
[2] See *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 21, 1898.
[3] Ransome, *Japan in Transition*, p. 60.

ance by her political contact with the West. The missionary influence smoothed over and conciliated this irritation. "I once said," Mr. Fukuzawa declared, "that if no missionaries had ever come to our country, the dissoluteness and wantonness of foreigners would have come to be much greater and our relations to foreigners would not be what they are now."[1]

It will suffice to quote but two other testimonies from outside the mission circle. When Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn left Japan in 1892, after thirty-three years' work, the Japan *Gazette*[2] said: "We may rest quite assured that it was the daily lives of Dr. Hepburn and his fellow-workers in the early days, which moved Japan first to tolerate and then to welcome missionaries to these shores, and it is to the missionaries that Japan owes the greater part of her present advancement. The missionary has been Japan's instructor, an influence wholly for enlightenment and good." And the Japan *Mail*,[3] said: "No single person has done so much to bring foreigners and Japanese into close intercourse. His dictionary was the first book that gave access to the language of the country, and remains to this day the best avaliable interpreter of that language. But even more than his dictionary has helped to facilitate mutual acquaintance—his life has assisted to break down the old barriers of racial prejudice and distrust."

For years, the most responsible cause of Japanese jealousy and ill-feeling towards the West, was the continuance of the insult, as the Japanese deemed it, of the extra-territorial rights of foreigners. The missionaries alone contemplated with approval the surrender of these rights.[4] In 1891, Dr. Verbeck deliberately placed himself under Japanese authority. Commenting upon his course, the *Mail* said: "His case is well worth the consideration of those who so strenuously object to the idea of submitting to Japanese jurisdiction. . . . The act of such a man seems to us more eloquent than the talk of a hundred cavillers who raise a barrier of imaginary perils in the path of free intercourse." While many missionaries doubtless were fearful of the consequences of the abandonment of

[1] Ritter, *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, pp. 128f.
[2] October 19, 1892.
[3] October 18, 1892.
[4] See *Twelfth Report of the Council of Missions*, p. 14.

extra-territorial rights, their influence as a whole was the most potent at work in Japan to mollify the feeling of the Japanese that the retention of these rights in the treaties was an expression of distrust of Japan.

The influence of the Christian propaganda in any land is distinctly educative and democratic. Visiting Japan in 1880, Mrs. Bishop (then Miss Bird) perceived this. "Christianity," she wrote, "is destined to be a power in moulding the future of Japan, I do not doubt. . . . It is tending to bind men together, irrespective of class, in a true democracy, in a very surprising way."[1] The local congregations were training schools in parliamentary self-government and the new doctrine with what was collateral to it was an education in liberty and progressive institutions. This is one reason why there have been so many Christians in the prefectural assemblies and the Imperial Diet.

And this influence of Christianity enduing the Christians with power has endowed them also with principles. The Christian Church has been the only great influence at work in Japan for purity. That is one thing which some foreigners do not greatly stand for in the East and one of the chief criticisms upon Buddhism has been upon the immorality of its priesthood,[2] while Shintoism with its exaltation of ancestor worship encourages concubinage for the maintenance of the family line.[3] Christianity has preached a doctrine of purity and has wrought for the suppression of uncleanness. "By Christian influence outside and inside of the assemblies, votes abolishing licensed vice have been reached in the seven prefectures of Kochi, Tochigi, Miyagi, Kanazawa, Kagoshima and Fukushima. . . . In another prefecture in their inability to secure the immediate passage of more stringent measures, high board fences were placed before every disreputable house to prevent indecent exposure."[4] Missionary influence has at least made a beginning of the destruction of the slavery of prostitutes. These girls have been held in a sort of legal slavery through the fact that they were easily kept financially indebted to their owners and could never free them-

[1] Young, *Success of Christian Missions*, p. 164.
[2] *Osaka Conference Report*, pp. 100f.
[3] Hozumi, *Ancestor Worship and Japanese Law*, pp. 53ff.
[4] Gordon, *An American Missionary in Japan*, pp. 238f; Cary, *Japan and its Regeneration*, p. 120.

selves. Missionaries at last secured a legal judgment, declaring that the women could leave the brothels at will, even though still owing money to the proprietor, but the decision needs to be made "effective over the heads of the police," as the Hon. Shimado Soburo expressed it.[1] This victory of the missionaries broke up the Yoshiwara, which had such fascination for many foreign visitors, fascination far superior to that possessed by the mission work. And if the army of prostitute slaves are ever freed and the ideal of purity ever established in Japan, it will have been as a result of missionary influence almost exclusively.[2]

Indeed, the entire philanthropic work of Japan, barring the Red Cross Society, which owes its phenomenal success to Imperial patronage, is practically due to missionary influence. As Dr. Pettee said at the Tokyo Conference, "We would call attention to the fact not that it (Christianity) has established a score of orphanages, three leper asylums, three rescue homes, three asylums for the blind, three prison gate missions, a score of hospitals, six charity kindergartens, three homes for the aged, one social settlement, and at least 200 poor schools; but that within a lifetime it has set the pace for all forms of practical benevolence and stirred a whole nation, from Emperor to ex-eta, to take an interest in all that tends to elevate and purify society." A study of the personnel of the management of the public charitable institutions not under the control of the churches reveals the fact that Christians are in many cases the leading and responsible men.[3]

The Christian body has been the source of many minor reforms. It has striven to abolish or diminish evils connected with popular celebrations, such as booths for immorality, excessive sale of liquor, street dances and undue license to dancing girls. The anti-smoking bill, prohibiting the smoking of tobacco by minors under twenty

[1] *Tokyo Conference Report*, pp. 544f.

[2] "In the *Japan Times*, Tokyo, Mr. Murphy writes as follows: The number of licensed prostitutes in Japan at the end of December, 1902, was 38,676, or 1,500 less than in 1901, and 13,800 less than 1899, the year before our work was started. The number of *geisha* (dancing girls) for last year was 28,130, a reduction of nearly two thousand from the year before" (*Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1903, p. 874).

[3] *Christendom Anno Domini*, 1901, Vol. I, p. 302; See also *Census of Christian Charities in Japan*, February, 1897; J. H Pettee, *Okayama;* Ritter, *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, pp. 361–391.

years of age, forbidding its sale to such minors and fining parents who fail to prevent their minors from smoking, was introduced by a Christian and its passage secured by him, with the support of non-Christians in the Diet.[1] But the great reform wrought steadily by Christians has been in the interest of woman. "The ladies' societies and schools have done more for womanhood in Japan than any other force," said the Japan *Mail* in February, 1889, "and are more sought after by the Japanese authorities and people than any other elevating agency." Woman's place in Japan was distinctly better than elsewhere in Asia, but she was not educated and was held as inferior and subject. Obedience was her supreme virtue. She could not hold property, must be ready to receive her husband's concubine into the house, and could be divorced practically at will. As Dr. Hozumi contends, the traditional Confucian ideal of the family and consequently of woman's place abides still in Japan, and the census proves as much, when it shows that divorces are to marriages in the proportion of one to three. How the Japanese regard the matter is frankly set forth by Dr. Hozumi. Enumerating the seven grounds of divorce in the Taiho Code, sterility, adultery, disobedience, loquacity, larceny, jealousy, bad disease, he adds, "The reason of sterility being made the first ground of divorce scarcely needs explanation. The commentators of the Taiho Code say that sterility here does not mean actual barrenness, but the failure of male issue. The marriage being contracted for a special object and that object failing, it was justifiable to dissolve the union. A man was in fact under a moral obligation to his ancestors to do so."[2] The new code, of course, introduces changes here and does not recognize the old ideal of family preservation in the male line for the purpose of ancestral worship, but it opens the door of divorce wide enough, and popularly the old notion of woman remains save where Christianity has changed it.[3] In the churches, women and men meet on an equality. The husband walks home side by side with his wife. At home, the spirit of Christianity rules the household. The girls are educated with the boys. The mission higher schools are educat-

[1] *The Anti-Smoking Bill*, translated by Tokeshi Ukai, Tokyo, 1900, Methodist Publishing House.

[2] *Ancestor Worship and Japanese Law*, p. 54.

[3] *Japan Evangelist*, June, 1899, p. 171.

ing almost as many girls as all the Government schools of the same grade. A totally new ideal of woman's place had been introduced. How powerfully the work has been done was shown in the recent marriage of the Crown Prince, which was a real marriage, not merely the acquisition by the Prince of a piece of property, the bride insisting upon a distinct, personal union, such a union as rests upon and has been made possible only by pure Christian conceptions taught to Japan by the example and in the doctrine of the missionaries.

In these and innumerable other ways, the work of missions has played its part in the renaissance of the nation. It has shaped the thoughts of men who were not conscious of its power and who perhaps had never met a missionary. "Not long since," wrote Dr. Greene in 1894, "at a public meeting in the interest of one of the irregular Shinto sects, a speaker had much to say about the Lord of heaven (Tentei). This sect is nominally polytheistic, but here he was preaching monotheism. There is no question but that he found his monotheism in the New Testament. As a matter of fact he was rebuked by the next speaker for his Christian opinions, but this very man, confessedly hostile to Christianity, then delivered a discourse on sincerity in religion, the thought of which was really taken from the Sermon on the Mount, and which contained several almost verbatim quotations from the sixth chapter of Matthew. Thus men inimical to Christianity, illustrate its influence upon society and are directly propagating its truths."[1] The work of missions has checked the impression made upon Japan by our military propaganda in Asia and has in a measure corrected that natural but erroneous conception which the Eastern people have of the West, that it knows no right, no mercy, no sincerity, but in the name of humanity seeks always and remorselessly its own interest.[2] The missionary at least has sought not to be ministered unto but to minister, and the principle of his life has been not gain but use.

The very difficulties which confront Christianity in Japan are only evidence of the need of the work which Christianity alone can do. If the spirit of nationalism has fostered a desire for something peculiarly Japanese and made the people unwilling to accept the religion

[1] *Outlook for Christianity in Japan*, p. 16.
[2] *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, p. 530.

of the West without a radical change in its character and some destructive adaptation of it to Japan's national peculiarity of disposition, on the other hand, Christianity is needed to save the spirit of nationalism from excess and to correct with broad universal sympathy the tendency to insularity in religion and morals and philanthropy. The nationalistic spirit is not peculiar to Japan. It has awakened in just the same way in Western nations,[1] and they show as clearly as Japan, the tendency to deal with fearless hand with traditional belief. The need of Christianity which we feel here for our own salvation, exists in Japan for her salvation from dangers which are but the projection into her life of our own.

The difficulties of grasping Christianity's personal conception of the individual soul and of the personal God are undoubtedly great in Japan. As a young Japanese said to Dr. DeForrest, "I can't understand it, and it is not only I, but all Japanese are so. I'm the president of a young men's club of one hundred members and all my friends are in the same fix. We can't possibly understand what you foreigners mean when you say God."[2] Where there is not a vivid sense of personality; where the national education for centuries has lacked the idea; where there are no birthdays but only one annual birthday for all boys and another for all girls; where religion has never dreamed of reducing itself to the fundamental issue, "God and the soul; the soul and God"; where, accordingly, the conceptions of duty, of character, of moral ideal, the sanctions of conduct and the consolation in death which are woven into the texture of western thought, are all wanting, it may be harder to introduce them, but it is correspondingly necessary.[3]

The supposed unreliability of Japanese character is alleged by some to be an insuperable difficulty in the way of the Christianization of the country. The borrowing, adapting spirit of the people[4] is said to be due to a racial fickleness which forbids all hope of permanence and reliability. Even among Christians, it is said, character can-

[1] Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 7.

[2] *Missionary Review of the World*, September, 1899, p. 692.

[3] See Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East* and his paper on "Esoteric Shinto"; *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXI, pp. 106–135, 152–197, 241–270, Vol. XXII, Part I, pp. 1–26. But on the other side see Gulick, *Evolution of the Japanese*, Chs. XXX, XXXI.

[4] *Japan Evangelist*, October, 1896, p. 3.

not be produced that is entirely trustworthy, and appeal is made to the history of the Doshiha.[1] However plausibly this may be put, it is not true. The Japanese have moved quickly, but not too quickly. The very quality of wise assimilation which has been one of their chief characteristics, is what must be depended on to carry them one step further to an acceptance of the great faith from which have sprung the fruits they covet and by which alone they can be guaranteed. That there are defects of character and that the nation as a whole is as a lost nation, groping its way, aiming, as the *Yorozu Chohu* says, "at a definite form of organization without the life that organized it," accepting the Western principle of individualism, "without the spirit of holiness that binds the individual to the Unseen Father," is only to say that the work of the Christian missionary is needed, and that here are these for whom the Gospel was given.

If there is one nation in the world to which more than to another, the Gospel is owed, it is Japan. We have given her some of its indirect results. We owe her its full power, its transforming life. We have shown her again and again the evil and uncleanness of our Western people.[2] We must show her the purity and holiness of our best life. We have poured Western destructive criticism, infidelity, barren materialism into her, destroying old ideals and leaving her Shinto shrines deserted. We owe her the firm vitalizing faith and beauty of the right life, related in all richness to God above, and in all love and helpfulness to man. We have taught her hands to war and equipped her with the whole infernal enginery of destruction. We must teach her the will to wait and to suffer wrong, and persuade her that service is a nobler thing than strife. We have weakened her old religions, and yet strengthened them by the imitation of our ways so that they can pretend to offer what it is not in them to give. We must complete the work by letting truth conquer half truth as well as error, and obliterate the twilight in the dawn.

No charge ever laid upon the Christian Church in her history was more solemn than this. It is the conflict of the first centuries repeated on a greater scale and a broader stage in the twentieth, with all of Asia awaiting the issue. It raises the old questions, "How far can Christianity mingle with and assimilate the materialistic and

[1] See Davis, "Joseph Hardy Nessima," *Japan Evangelist*, May, 1898, p. 146.
[2] Young, *Success of Christian Missions*, p. 167.

pantheistic philosophies which pass under the name of religion in Eastern Asia and retain even a name to live? Yobutsu sekken,—the question of the coming together of Buddhism and Christianity." How stringently must Christianity exclude all compromise, all liberalizing and loosening of her doctrines and ideals to retain her power? How much power will an inarticulate and tepid Christianity, such as some uphold in Japan, and as many are drifting to at home, have to arrest the attention and save men who are steeped in pantheism, such as have no definite idea of God or of immortality, whose moral muscles are flabby, whose hearts are blinded by the God of this world and who have no clear conception of the meaning or the enormity of sin?[1] And for us there is another question more pertinent and pressing still. Is our Christianity so true, so set and secure in self assurance, so earnest and genuine in its outreachings, so calm in its trust, that it greets with joy the supreme test it is to receive in Japan, and at the prospect of it rejoices as a strong man to run a race?[2]

[1] See Dr. Davis's article "Some Lessons in Japan," *Advance*, March 11, 1897.

[2] A friend who lived for some years in Japan and who has read this chapter in the manuscript writes in comment:

"There is only one criticism I would pass and that is that there is all through the chapter an assumption of a deeper and profounder change in the nature and life of the Japanese people than has really taken place. There has been during the past forty years a *transformation* in Japan and also a *revelation* of Japan. Much that seems new is only new because heretofore unknown and what seems to be transformation is only in fact a slight readjustment. Japan has exhibited her ability to stand on terms of equality with Western nations and seems to have suddenly lifted herself above her Asiatic neighbours. The fact is she has been their superior for at least a thousand years. Owing to the gift of Christianity and of modern knowledge we seemed to have distanced the Japanese during that time and we are liable therefore to assume an innate superiority but I sometimes question if the Spirit is not working up better raw material now in Japan than He had when He moved the hearts of our ancestors!"

But this judgment of the past superiority of Japan over China is at least open to dispute, and as to the depth of the change that has taken place let the reader study Gulick, *The Evolution of the Japanese* or the *Tokyo Conference Report.*

The Armenian Massacres

IX

THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES

OF all the stains that defaced the nineteenth century it is doubtful if history will deem any comparable in disgrace with the toleration by Christendom of the persistent atrocity of the rule of Turkey. There are many who suppose that the Armenian Massacres stand out alone in their infamy, but they merely gave to the end of the century a characteristic Turkish touch. Each quarter of the century had been marked by at least one such butchery. The first was the murder of 50,000 defenceless Christian subjects in the island of Chios or Scio by the Sultan Mahmoud in 1822. "The Chiotes had always been the gentlest, the most docile, the most timid of all the *rayas*. The secret societies which endeavoured to rouse the Greek people had not even deigned to initiate these islanders in their projects of national resurrection. . . . The inhabitants of Chios, in order to give new guarantees of submission, had sent to the Turks large amounts of money, numerous hostages, and all their arms; even the little knives with which they cut their bread had been taken from them." On Easter Day the Turkish fleet of seven ships and eight frigates came down upon them. The simple people who had fled in fright at the sight of the fleet were enticed back from the mountains by assurances of safety and "by sending to them some Consuls who were simple enough to lend themselves in good faith to this ignoble fraud." Then the great shambles began. "The adventurers had come in great numbers, eager for their prey, attracted by the country, so rich in harvests, in gold coin and in women. . . . They slashed and burned all day; in the evening they reckoned up the price of the slaves, the sheep, the goats, all huddled together in the profaned churches. The children and women escaped death and were led off in long troops to be sold in the markets of Smyrna, Constantinople and Broussa. [1]

[1] Deschamps in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 167, January 1, 1893; Quoted in Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, pp. 96–99.

The second great slaughter was in 1850 when 10,000 Nestorians were butchered in the Kurdish Mountains. After 9,000 had been massacred, "1,000 men, women and children concealed themselves in a mountain fastness. Beder Khan Beg, an officer of rank in the employment of the Sultan, unable to get at them, surrounded the place and waited until they should be compelled to yield by thirst and hunger. Then he offered to spare their lives on the surrender of their arms and property, terms ratified by an oath on the Koran. The Kurds were then admitted to the platform. After they had disarmed their prisoners, they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, until weary of using their weapons, they hurled the few survivors from the rocks into the river Zab below. Out of nearly 1,000 only one escaped."[1]

Only ten years elapsed before the next horror, when in 1860, 11,000 Maronites and Syrians were murdered in the Lebanon and Damascus. For the massacres in Damascus, Fuad Pasha executed 120 military and civil officials and fifty-six citizens, but not one "Druze or Moslem was executed for the cold-blooded murders of Deir el Komr, Sidon and Hasbeiya."[2]

In 1876 came the Bulgarian atrocities which Disraeli dismissed with light incredulity until the consular reports revealed them in their full hideousness. "It is difficult," wrote the United States Consul General to the Minister at Constantinople, from Philippopolis, where he had gone to investigate, "to estimate the number of Bulgarians who were killed during the few days that the disturbances lasted; but I am inclined to put 15,000 as the lowest for the districts I have named (Philippopolis, Roptchus, Tatar-Bazardjik). . . . This village surrendered, without firing a shot, after a promise of safety, to the bashi-bazouks under command of Ahmed Aga, a chief of the rural police. Despite his promise, the arms once surrendered, Ahmed Aga ordered the destruction of the village and the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, about a hundred young girls being reserved to satisfy the lust of the conqueror before they too should be killed. Not a house is now standing in this lovely valley. Of the 8,000 inhabitants, not 2,000 are known to survive."[3]

[1] Layard, *Nineveh*, pp. 24–201; Quoted in Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, 99.
[2] *The Independent*, January 31, 1895.
[3] Quoted in Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, p. 102.

This will suffice. Mention might be made of the slaughter of 2,000 Yezidees in Mesopotamia near Mosul in 1892, an unknown number of Armenians in 1877 and of Cretans in 1867, but it is needless to multiply such stories here, in view of what we shall be obliged to consider. It is enough now to point out (1) that the Armenian massacres are not an exceptional outburst of Turkish fanaticism. They are exactly what the history of the century proved might be expected. No plea of surprise could be made by the European nations in defence of their failure to prevent the outbreak. They knew or ought to have known what was sure to come. (2) All these massacres have been of the subject, non-Moslem people, and with the exception of the Yezidees, of Christians. When the Turk was piqued and wished revenge, or when he became apprehensive of the growing prosperity and power of the Christian people, he turned easily and instinctively to massacre. "Nejib Pasha, who was installed Governor of the Pashalick of Damascus on the restoration of Syria to the Sultan in 1840, declared to a confidential agent of the British Consul in that city, not knowing, however, the character of the person he was addressing, 'the Turkish Government can only maintain its supremacy in Syria by cutting down the Christian Sects.'"[1] (3) As this remark of Nejib Pasha's indicates, these massacres have not been unofficial and insurrectionary, but sometimes planned and always approved from Constantinople. For the Bulgarian massacres, only one man, Ahmed Aga was sentenced to death, and he was then reprieved and decorated by the Sultan. The murder of the Yezidees was conducted by a special officer, Ferik Pasha, sent from Constantinople with absolute authority. The whole of the century should have prepared Christendom for the facts of the Armenian horror.

But who are the Armenians? The word now describes a people not a country. Armenia is a term roughly used to denote the land where they are found, but it lies in Russia and Persia as well as in Turkey and other people reside in it beside Armenians. "Turkish Armenia—by the way, 'Armenia' is a name prohibited in Turkey—is a large plateau quadrangular in shape and 60,000 square miles in area, about the size of Iowa. It is bounded on the north by the Russian frontier, a line from the Black Sea to Mount Ararat, by Persia on the east, the Mesopotamian plain on the south and Asia Minor on

[1] Churchill, *Druzes and Maronites*, p. 222.

the west. It contains about 600,000 Armenians which is only one-fourth the number found in all Turkey. The surface is rough, consisting of valleys and plains from 4,000, to 6,000 feet above sea level, broken and shut in by bristling peaks and mountain ranges, from 10,000 to 17,000 feet high, as in the case of Ararat. Ancient Armenia greatly varied in extent at different epochs, reaching to the Caspian at one time, and even bordering on the Mediterranean Sea during the Crusades." It included the Southern Caucasus, which now contains a large, growing, and prosperous Armenian population under the Czar, whose Government until recently allowed them the free exercise of their ancestral religion and admits them to many high civil and military positions. "The Armenians now number about 4,000,000, of whom 2,500,000 are in Turkey, 1,250,000 in Russia, 150,000 in Persia and other parts of Asia, 100,000 scattered through Europe and 5,000 in the United States." [1]

The history of the Armenian people runs back into the early mists. Civil and political institutions took definite shape among them from the time of Tigranes I, who began to reign in 565 B. C. Tradition relates that the knowledge of Christianity was first brought to Armenia in the lifetime of Jesus by some ambassadors of the Armenian King, who had come to Palestine on a political errand and had there heard of Jesus and witnessed some of His miracles. The King sent at once to Jesus, and Armenian tradition declares that the reference in the twelfth chapter of John to the visit of certain Greeks to Jesus is really a reference to the visit of this deputation from Abgar. It is further claimed that after the death of Jesus, Thaddeus, one of the seventy came as a missionary to Armenia and the King and his people were converted and baptized and a great church erected at Edessa. Whatever may be the value of their traditions, it is certain that the Armenian people were early won to Christianity, and that under the influence of Gregory, the Illuminator, the nation became Christian in the third and fourth centuries. [2]

The hierarchical system of the Gregorian or Armenian Church "is somewhat similar to the Greek, culminating in a patriarch who resides at Constantinople, but who is himself subordinate to a still higher ecclesiastical figurehead called Catholicos, who resides at

[1] Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, pp. 44f.
[2] St. Clair-Tisdall, *Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith, passim.*

Etchmiadzin, in Russian Armenia, and claims to preside over the Armenian Church in all lands. The local clergy of this communion," says Dr. Riggs, "are not much if any above the range of those in the Greek and Bulgarian Churches in point of intellectual and spiritual grasp and activity, though, perhaps, on the average a little more intelligent. Their liturgy also is in the national language and was in the vernacular when it was first adopted. But it has remained unchanged from the fifth century, while the language of the people has undergone a gradual but very essential change. Hence the people get very little idea of what is being chanted and intoned in the service from beginning to end. This fact in itself gives the key to their spiritual condition. It is in a state of suspended animation, which for the individual means death. And the characteristic symptom of this condition is that they are themselves unconscious of it and to a large extent lacking in desire for anything better." [1]

The separation of the Armenians from the Orthodox Church came through the annulment of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon by the Armenian bishops in the sixth century. In the sixteenth century the Jesuit missionaries succeeded in separating from the church the Catholic element which has since been attached to Rome. The Protestant Church among the Armenians is a growth of the last century. It was no part of the purpose of the missionaries to establish it when they first went out. When Dr. Perkins and Dr. Grant went to the Nestorians, their instructions explicitly stated that they were to have in view as the object of their mission "(1) To convince the people that they came among them with no design to take away their religious privileges, nor to subject them to any foreign ecclesiastical control. (2) To enable the Nestorian Church, through the grace of God to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia." These principles controlled the entire American missionary movement among these Oriental Churches at the outset. The Protestant Churches grew up, because the Gregorian Church excommunicated the evangelical element which resulted from the labour of the missionaries.

A word should be said with reference to the Armenian character.

[1] Grant, *Christendom Anno Domini*, Vol. I, pp. 496f.; See Dwight, *Constantinople and its Problems*, pp. 138ff.; also Dwight, *Christianity Revived in the East* Chs. I, IV.

Sympathy with the Turks in the massacres and want of sympathy with the Armenians in their sufferings have often been based on the view that the Armenian character was treacherous and unpleasant, and that the people deserved what they got. Dr. Riggs' statement is that of one who has long known the people and who would tell nothing but the exact truth about them. "It is perhaps surprising," he writes, "that the amount of flagrant, open crime is not greater than it is, but their standard of commercial probity, of domestic purity, and of public duty is a sadly low one. Centuries of oppression by a race of unscrupulous and fanatical conquerors have driven them to the use of all manner of subterfuge, and their habitual practice of deception has had a most baleful influence on their spiritual, moral, social, commercial, domestic and personal character. There is, however, a conserving power in the primitive simplicity of Oriental customs, and still more a seasoning grace in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and these have kept these people from the lower depths of depravity and enabled them to live along with an easy going forbearance towards their neighbours but with very small interest in anything outside of their own personal advantage." [1]

Yet something more than this could be said. The Armenians are energetic, capable, intensely patriotic in their love of their nationalist or racial ideals, and shrewd in business, so that they have been the leading bankers, merchants and skilled artisans in Turkey. Perhaps Professor Ramsay's judgment fairly combines the diverse elements. "The free Armenian is not unlike the Kurd in certain characteristics. The faults to which both tend are graspingness and selfishness, in contrast to the Greeks, who tend rather towards the faults of vanity and display. Both free Armenian and Kurd cling desperately to their freedom, and in the surroundings of the Turkish Empire both were unruly, a thorn in the side of the Turkish Government, a terror to traders, and almost a bar to communication. I believe that the Kurd is just the Mohammedan Armenian, and the Armenian is the Kurd passed through centuries of Christianity. . . . Yet while it is true that of all the races with whom I have mixed in Turkey, there is none that I have personally liked less than the Armenians, none among whom I have found so little interest in history, none to whom I owe so little individual gratitude for kindness shown to a

[1] *Christendom Anno Domini*, Vol. I, pp. 496f.

traveller, and a guest, none who have so often treated me as a stranger whose sole interest in their eyes was the possibility of making money off him, none whose character has seemed to me generally so bound down to the estimate of life by the standard of money alone,—yet I will say for the Armenians that they have furnished the most striking examples known to me of capacity to receive and assimilate and rise quickly to the level of higher education and nobler nature, when the opportunity has been placed before them by other people. It is among the Protestants that these examples most occur." [1]

These were the people who constituted one element in the Armenian Problem, and who were as sheep in the great slaughter. Who were the butchers? Some would answer, "The Kurds," and call the massacres after their perpetrators, the Kurdish Massacres. And the Kurds were in large part the active agents in the matter. The responsibility, however, as we shall see, lay back of them upon the Turk and above all upon the Turkish Government, and many of the massacres were not by Kurds but by Turks. Still it is necessary to remember the Kurds and their part in the atrocities. Professor Sterrett speaks of them as "an inhospitable, murderous set of filthy villains, who still preserve all the ferocious characteristics of their ancestors, the ancient Kardouchoi, of whom Xenophon has little good to report in the Anabasis." [2] On the other hand Mr. Greene writes, "The Kurds are naturally brave and hospitable, and in common with many other Asiatic races possess certain rude but strict feelings of honour. But since their power has been broken by the Turks, their castles ruined, and their chiefs exiled, these finer qualities and more chivalrous sentiments have also largely disappeared under the principle of noblesse oblige reversed. In most regions they have degenerated into a wild, lawless set of brigands, proud, treacherous and cruel. The traditions of their former position and power serve only to feed their hatred of the Turks, who caused their fall, and their jealousy and contempt of the Christians who have been for generations their serfs, whose progress and increase they cannot tolerate." [3] Rough and cruel, the race has qualities of great strength, with capacities of real usefulness or infinite degradation. The number of Kurds is very uncertain, but

[1] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 216f.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[3] Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, p. 49.

it is estimated that there are about 1,500,000 of them in Turkey inhabiting the same section of country in general that is occupied by the Armenians. In religion they are loose Mohammedans, which makes it easy for them to act with Turks against Christians; in disposition they are restless and cruel, which makes them ready instruments for Turkish cruelty, and despising Christians and usually ready for violence and plunder, no proposition could be more acceptable to them than the proposition which was as actually made as if it had been put in writing and presented formally, namely that the Armenians should be permanently broken. Left to themselves there would have been constant rapine and brigandage, but no such wholesale slaughter as only the Turk could have devised and accomplished.

When we ask about the character of the Turk who is thus accused of conduct so fiendish and diabolical, we meet with divergent replies. "There is no finer race in the world than the Turk proper," writes one. "Brave, honest, industrious, truthful, frugal, kind-hearted and hospitable, all who know the Osmanli speak well of him. He is as much oppressed by the curse of misgovernment as his Christian fellow subjects."[1] On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone wrote in *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, "Let me endeavour very briefly to sketch, in the rudest outline, what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mohammedanism simply, but of Mohammedanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mohammedans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view. They represented everywhere Government by force as opposed to Government by law. For the guide of their life, they had a relentless fatalism, for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise."[2] The first of these two views is in a measure true of the Turkish peasant, but it is only in a measure true. It ignores the darker side of his

[1] C. B. Norman, *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, pp. 158–9; Quoted in Greene, pp. 85f.

[2] Quoted in Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, p. 126.

character, which is there and makes it impossible to call him the finest race in the world. As for Mr. Gladstone's view, that also is true, but it is a view rather of the Turk officially, of his attempt at Government than a description of the individual Turk. The Turks themselves have a proverb that "The Turk is a decent man until he becomes an official and then he becomes a scamp."[1] Of the Turkish Government, scarcely anything too evil can be said. The system of taxation is suicidal. As a British Vice-Consul wrote from Van in 1895, "The present system of collecting tithes and other taxes gives opportunities for endless injustice and ill-treatment of the villagers. I am continually hearing of villagers being beaten, maltreated, and robbed by the zaptiehs, who are sent to collect the taxes, and the tithe-farming system notoriously gives rise to every sort of extortion and abuse. The villagers have absolutely no redress against either zaptiehs or tithe-farmers."[2] The courts are rotten and untrustworthy. Three years after the Treaty of Berlin with its solemn engagement on Turkey's part to introduce reform, the British Consul General in Anatolia, the region of Armenian Turkey, reported, "There has probably never been a time in which the prestige of the Courts has fallen so low or in which the administration of justice has been so venal and corrupt. The most open and boundless bribery is practiced from highest to lowest; prompt, even-handed justice for rich and poor alike is unknown; sentence is given in favour of the suitor who places his money most judiciously; imprisonment or freedom has in many places become a matter of bribery; robbers when arrested are protected by members of the Court who share their spoil; a simple order may send a man to prison for months; crime goes unpunished, and all manner of oppression and injustice is committed with impunity."[3] Here and there, of course, there are honest and upright men, but the whole system of Government and of courts is corrupt and tyrannical. The supreme trouble is misgovernment, and misgovernment in Turkey is not like misgovernment elsewhere. It is sheer lawlessness, where subject peoples like the Armenians are the victims of the insolence, the lust, the avarice, the contempt,

[1] Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, p. 80.
[2] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896; *Correspondence relative to the Armenian Question*, p. 2.
[3] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 8 (1881), p. 57, No. 48.

the cruelty of the foulest Government to be found anywhere in the world to-day. It is the Government itself which is the curse of the country, bleeding it through the system of taxation, crushing it by oppression. "I have found," wrote Professor Ramsay, "everywhere and among all kinds of the Anatolian people and all religions the same belief—that the police of Turkey are the centre and agents of disorder, misgovernment and injustice."[1] The misgovernment galls the Mohammedan peasantry as well as the subject Christians. "One who lives much among them and sympathizes with them, as I have done," Professor Ramsay says, "comes to hate the Ottoman Government with that fervent hatred which I feel,"[2] and only religious fanaticism keeps this hatred of the Moslem subjects for their Government from rendering impossible cooperation with it in schemes of massacre against their fellow subjects of the Christian faith.[3]

The oppression and heartlessness of the Turkish Government must be kept constantly in mind. American ministers come back with such rose water reports of the amiability of the Sultan that we need to remember that his land is a murdered land and that he is the murderer. It is a murdered land. A traveller through Eastern Anatolia writes in a recent letter about what he saw there. "Everywhere desolation, ruin and want stare one in the face, from the pinched and wrinkled faces of the people that abound all over the cities and in all the villages. Withal, the taxes are collected as remorselessly as if nothing had happened. In fact every bit of tax taken is simply a letting the life blood of the people. The whole empire is a wreck and one only wonders at the vitality of a people that can endure so far and still exist." And this picture is only a superlative account of conditions that have existed for years. Even where there was the appearance of prosperity, the corpse of Turkish tyranny was hidden beneath. And the Sultan himself is in a real sense responsible for the present condition of the country and for its continual misgovernment. When he came to the throne, and for some years after, the West looked complacently upon him and deemed him a good and just man. Mr. Cox in his *Diversions of a*

[1] *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 179.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[3] Wherry, *Islam*, p. 4.

Diplomat is representative of the hypnotized view of many of our American ministers.

"Since the accession of the present Sultan," he wrote, "it is apparent that his rule has permeated the Empire with a wise and honest sovereignty. I have observed heedfully much of the progress of Turkey during the last three decades, and from what I have seen of it, I believe that the Sultan being himself a Turk, is the only man who can give Turkey the proper impulse to overcome the *vis inertiæ* of her laggard progress, so as to bring her forth into the light and liberty of a new civilization. If you question the ability of this people for self-advancement, look for the inspiration of their remarkable race and rule, and you will find an answer in those rare qualities which Gibbon catalogued when he said, 'The Turks are distinguished for their patience, discipline, sobriety, bravery, honesty, and modesty.' It is because of these solid characteristics and in spite of the harem, in spite of autocratic power, in spite of the Janissary and the Seraglio, that this race and rule remain potent in the Orient. It is a good omen that the head of the Turkish Government to-day is a man of honest intention and clear intellect, and that he gives unremittingly his time to the service of his people. He is not merely an amiable and humane prince, but wisely versed in statesmanship. His heart is touched by suffering and his views lean strongly to that toleration of the various races and religions of his realm which other and more boastful nations would do well to imitate."[1]

This view of Mr. Cox's was published in 1887. It is probable that the Sultan has changed some since, but it is more probable that Mr. Cox was deceived. "His heart is touched by suffering!" "His views lean strongly to toleration!" Let the wail of the outraged children, the blackened ruins of 2,000 villages, the streams of blood that have drenched the fields of Anatolia,

> "the unanswered cry
> Of virgin souls for vengeance, and on high
> The gathering blackness of the frown of God,"

answer such folly. Or let it be answered by lips of Turks. Doubtless this judgment is extreme, but far less so than Mr. Cox's. It is the judgment of a Turkish official:

"By degrees the Sultans monopolized the Government of the country, and gave it the form of a despotism, which under the present Sultan has reached a degree for which there is no adequate expression. The people did not yield to this spoliation of their rights, without many protestations, some of them of an

[1] Quoted in Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 356.

openly rebellious nature and entailing great bloodshed. Gradually, however, they got accustomed to the tyranny of their masters, and since the accession of Abdul Hamid, their resignation has assumed the aspect of debasing abdication of all human rights. Simultaneously with this absorption of power by the Sultans, the administration of the country grew worse and worse, until it became what it is to-day, a sickening and shameful parody of Government. . . . A feeling of loathing and indignation at the Sultan's rule is very noticeable among the *Ulema*, the new generation of officers, the liberal professions and the lower ranks of the administration itself. Unfortunately owing to the ignorance of the masses and the diabolical skill of the Sultan in keeping the truth from them, they are only very gradually awakening to the fact that he is the real cause of their misery, of the catastrophes which Turkey is daily experiencing."[1]

From the Sultan down the Turkish Government is bad and incapable of reform. As Professor Ramsay says, "Reform and improvement are quite possible in Turkey but not under Turkish rule," and he quotes Hamilton's judgment, to the effect that "Every one must feel that the Turks themselves are as yet incapable of that high moral energy and perseverance in the path of duty, which are essential to the accomplishment of any moral or political regeneration."[2] And one who was able to speak out of a full knowledge of Turkish history from the beginning, Prof. E. A. Freeman, has written a yet severer judgment:

"The power of the Turk is something purely evil, something which cannot be reformed; it must therefore be dealt with as one should deal with any other evil which is past remedy. The great mistake of all European powers for a long time past has been that of treating the Turk as one of themselves; of speaking of the 'Ottoman Government,' 'the rights' of the Sultan and so forth, as if they were speaking of and dealing with a civilized power. The whole course of the history which we have gone through shows that the power of the Turks is not a 'Government' in the sense in which we apply that word to the powers which bear rule in our civilized nations. The Government of this or that European country may have great faults and may need reform in many ways; still it is on the whole an instrument of good. It discharges the common duties of Government in its own country, and in most cases it fairly represents the nation of which it is the head in the face of other nations. We may therefore, with perfect truth, speak of the 'rights' of such a Government, even though we may think that there are many things about it which might be improved. The worst that we can say of it is that it is a bad Government and that its rule is misgovern-

[1] *Contemporary Review*, April, 1899, Article, "The Future of Turkey," pp. 531f.

[2] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 169.

ment. These words in themselves imply that it does in some sort discharge the functions of Government and that by needful reform it might be made to discharge them better. The worst civilized Government is not a thing that is purely evil; it is a good thing more or less perverted, but which still may be reformed. But the so-called Turkish Government is none of these things and does none of these things. It is a mistake to speak of it as a Government or to speak of its rule even as misgovernment. Its fault is not that it governs badly, but that it does not govern at all. Its rule is not Government but organized brigandage. Systematic oppression, systematic plunder, the denial of the commonest rights of human beings to those who are under its power is not Government in any sense of the word. It is therefore a mistake and a dangerous mistake, to speak of the Sultan and his ministers as a Government, and to treat them as such. It is a mistake to speak of the 'rights' of the Sultan, for he has no rights. The Turk has never dealt with the subject nations in such a way as to give him any rights over them, or to bind them to any duty towards him. His rule is a rule of brute force, of mere brigandage. It makes no difference that that brigandage has gone on for 500 years. While other conquerors have sooner or later made their conquest lawful by giving the conquered people a Government, the Turk has never given the nations whom he has conquered any Government at all. He came in as a robber and he remains a robber. He has no rights except such as may be held to belong to a man who has broken into the home of another, who has carried off his goods, laid waste his fields and enslaved or murdered his children. . . . The so-called Turkish Government is not a Government and is not entitled to be treated as one. The Sultan has no rights and is not entitled to claim any. . . . His rule has been the rule of strangers over enslaved nations in their own land. It has been the rule of cruelty, faithlessness and brutal lust; it has not been Government but organized brigandage. His rule cannot be reformed. While all other nations get better and better, the Turk gets worse and worse. . . . For an evil which cannot be reformed, there is one remedy only—to get rid of it. Justice, reason, humanity demand that the rule of the Turk in Europe should be got rid of, and the time for getting rid of it has now come."[1]

It will be evident from what has been said that the problem of Turkey is greater than the mere Armenian Problem. There is the problem of the Turkish Government in its relation to Europe and in its relation to its own Turkish subjects and there is the problem of every non-Moslem race or people incorporated in Turkish territory and absolutely subject to the Turk. For a century the Christian powers of Europe have realized that they had a responsibility towards these subject races, so far as they are Christian.

[1] Freeman, *The Turk in Europe*, pp. 72–76, 97, 98.

In 1829 Russia forced Turkey to promise reform in her treatment of Orthodox Christians and in the same treaty of Adrianople secured the acknowledgment of her right to interfere in their behalf. Four years later by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, Russia secured the autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were to pay but a small tribute to the Sultan, and thenceforth no Moslem was to hold property north of the Danube. In 1839, feeling the need of European sympathy, as Ibrahim Pasha was threatening his city, Abdul Medjid issued the Hatti Sherif, one of the numerous reforming edicts of his reign, in which he promised to protect the life, honour and property of all subjects without respect to race or religion. In 1844,[1] and again in 1855, the British Ambassador at Constantinople after the execution of men who had apostatized from Islam to Christianity, demanded that "no punishment whatever shall attach to the Mohammedan who becomes a Christian." The Earl of Clarendon wrote in 1855, during the Crimean War, "The Christian powers, who are making gigantic efforts and submitting to enormous sacrifices to save the Turkish Empire from ruin and destruction, cannot permit the continuance of a law in Turkey which is not only a standing insult to them but a source of cruel persecution to their co-religionists, which they never can consent to perpetuate by the successes of their fleets and armies." In consequence a Memorandum was agreed upon in 1856, declaring, "As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominion, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change their religion."[2]

In 1876 came the Bulgarian Massacres and Europe interfered. A conference was held at Constantinople in November, at which the Turkish diplomatists at first tried to put off the representatives of the other powers "by the announcement that the Sultan had granted a constitution to Turkey and that there was to be a Parliament at which representatives of all the provinces were to speak up for themselves. There was in fact a Turkish Parliament called together. The first meeting of the Conference was disturbed by the sound of

[1] Lane-Poole, *The Life of Stratford Canning*, Vol. II, Ch. XVIII.
[2] Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 474f.; Lane-Poole, *The Life of Stratford Canning*, Vol. II, pp. 440–442.

salvos of cannon to celebrate the opening of the first Constitutional Assembly of Turkey." This was all buncombe and the Parliament dissolved as soon as it was not needed to bamboozle Europe, while the Conference itself came to nothing through the obstinacy of Turkey, due it was alleged to the influence of England which participated in the Conference, but behind the scenes encouraged Turkey to resist its demands. In consequence Russia took the field alone, defeated Turkey and in the Treaty of San Stefano "secured for the population of the Christian provinces almost complete independence of Turkey."[1] The fruits of the war to Russia, however, were wrested from her by the Treaty of Berlin, made at the demand of Great Britain, which refused to assent to the San Stefano arrangement. It is needless to speak of this matter, shameful and unsatisfactory in many regards, save in so far as it involves the Armenians. The sixty-first article of the Berlin Treaty read, "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out without further delay, the amelioration and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers who will superintend their application." It was found after the Berlin Congress that England had gone into it with secret engagements already made with both Russia and Turkey. By the latter "the English Government undertook to guarantee to Turkey her Asiatic possessions against all invasion, on condition that Turkey handed over to England the island of Cyprus for her occupation" and by this compact England became in a separate and special way the guardian of the rights and lives of the Armenians. The first article of the convention declared, "H. I. M. the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two powers, into the Government and for the protection of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte in these territories (Armenia) and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagements, H. I. M., the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cypress to be occupied and administered by England."[2] How

[1] McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II, pp. 698, 699, 704.

[2] This is Mr. Morley's view of the Cyprus Convention: "A proceeding by which we had undertaken, behind the back of Europe and against the treaty of Paris, to establish a sole protectorate in Asiatic Turkey. We had made a con-

England repudiated these responsibilities when it became necessary to fulfill them we shall see. It is enough now to note the emergence of the Armenian problem in its distinctness. The whole problem has been discussed at such length because there will be more developments of it before it is at last solved. But we are to consider now the Armenian problem as it came to acute expression in the massacres of 1895–1896 alone.

The treaties just quoted were made in 1878. The Bulgarian atrocities had been avenged by Russia. The purpose of the treaties was to secure a gradual improvement and reform and to make sure that no such horrors would be repeated. The very mention of the Armenians indicated where Europe feared there might be a repetition, and where accordingly safeguards must be provided. The treaties had made it England's special duty to provide these safe-

tract of such impossible scope as to bind us to manage the reform of the judicature, the police, the finances, the civil service of Turkey, and the stoppage of the sources of corruption at Constantinople. The load, if we took it seriously, was tremendous; if we did not take it seriously, then what was the whole story of the reform of Asiatic Turkey but a blind to excuse the acquisition of Cyprus?"

But, as a matter of fact, the mere presence of the military consuls in Asia went a long way towards redeeming England's obligation so far as interior Turkey was concerned.

Mr. Gladstone strongly condemned the course of Beaconsfield and Salisbury at the Berlin Congress and also the Cyprus Convention: "I think we have lost greatly by the conclusion of this Convention; I think we have lost very greatly indeed the sympathy and respect of the nations of Europe. . . . Now, I am desirous that the standard of our material strength shall be highly and justly estimated by the other nations of Christendom; but I believe it to be of still more vital consequence that we should stand high in their estimation as lovers of truth, of honour and of openness in all our proceedings, as those who know how to cast aside the motives of narrow selfishness, and give scope to considerations of broad and lofty principle. I value our insular position, but I dread the day when we shall be reduced to a moral insularity. . . . The proceedings have all along been associated with a profession as to certain British interests, which although I believe them to be perfectly fictitious and imaginary, have yet been pursued with as much zeal and eagerness as if they had been the most vital realities in the world. This setting up of our own interests, out of place, in an exaggerated form, beyond their proper sphere, and not merely the setting up of such interests, but the mode in which they have been pursued, has greatly diminished, not, as I have said, the regard of our material strength, but the estimation of our moral standard of action, and consequently our moral position in the world" (Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, pp. 577–579).

Mr. Gladstone described the Convention as "filching the Island of Cyprus from the Porte under a treaty clause distinctly concluded in violation of the treaty of Paris, which formed part of the international law of Christendom" (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 607).

guards. She had been paid an island for doing it. As Professor Ramsay says she now held in fact,

"The Protectorate of Asia Minor, champion of the Christians in Armenia, checking by a system of military consuls the administration of the country. The Porte was powerless to resist, and could only obey. The aspirations and hopes of the Christians, in whom lay the real strength of the land (except in open battle)—hopes which had previously rested on Russia—were now turned towards England as having guaranteed good government for them, and having prevented Russia from undertaking the guarantee. Britain had planted herself upon all the lines of development in the country, and all its strongest forces were pushing her on. A new department was created; a series of young Consuls, selected by competitive examination annually, went out to Turkey in regular course to learn the language of the country before beginning their official work. As a piece of statesmanship, crafty and unscrupulous, but able, it was a master-stroke; though I think no one among us will ever look back to it without blushing for the jockeying by which it was effected. . . . The only way in which Britain could atone for the cunning that had given her so strong a position in Asia Minor was by using that position for the advancement of civilization and the benefit of the peoples of Asia Minor, just as she has used her position in Egypt. The advent of the Consuls was understood by all to be in reality, what it was in name, the inauguration of the Protectorate of Asia Minor; and it was hailed with joy and relief by almost every section of the population, except the officials. The Consul-General, Sir C. Wilson, was a man who combined the qualifications of knowledge of the East and good judgment; he was ably seconded, and for a time all went well. Then came a change of Government in England and the Consuls were no longer supported. The corrupt officials whose degradation they had insisted on were reinstated, and the old state of Turkey was resumed. But the Consuls were still in the country, and their presence was an offence to the Porte, a sign of tutelage and subordination, as well as a possible danger in the event of a resumption of active policy in Turkey. The Egyptian War brought an opportunity; the Sultan gave his authority to Britain to put down the disorder in Egypt, and the Consuls were ordered away for service in that country. I have often wondered whether the second fact was made a condition of the first—not of course formally, but in an informal way which could be disowned in case of need. . . . Lord Rosebery, in his Edinburgh speech on October 12, 1896, resigning the leadership of the Liberal party, stated that the military Consuls were recalled in 1880, or very shortly after, because they had nothing to do. That is a specimen of the garbled versions of facts about Turkey that our statesmen seem to love. The Consuls were not recalled; they were ordered to Egypt on special service in August, 1882. Their power departed when the home Government ceased to support them in 1880; but during 1879, they were a great influence in the country, and their presence produced profound and far-reaching results.

"They were there before the eyes of Moslems and Christians alike, a continual reminder of the overshadowing power of the great Christian kingdom of the West. They were a sign to the people, an omen of the future, 'casting out devils' in a literal sense, for where a Mohammedan governor was found by them to be oppressive beyond the average, his deposition followed. Now, the effect produced in Turkey by one or two examples is wonderful; there is nothing like it among the more stubborn and resolute people of the West. Thus, the Consuls were a beacon of hope to the oppressed and repressed Christians of Eastern Turkey, encouraging them to crave for justice, and fostering in their hearts the inclination to demand the elementary right of personal safety for the person and the family. It was a crime of the deepest dye to plant this hope in the minds of the Armenian Christians, and then withdraw from the position in which alone we could help them."[1]

But Cyprus was not returned! Having got in advance her compensation for the trouble of protecting the Armenians, England absconded with the pay, leaving the Armenians literally to go to that hell which the Turk was already preparing for them. This is a harsh saying and England's position was unquestionably trying but the obligation should have been cleared beforehand or discharged when it matured.

For the massacres when they came were only the full development of an oppression which the Armenians had been suffering for years, and from which Great Britain had paid herself Cypress to deliver them. It would be easy to multiply evidences of the chronic atrocity of Turkish rule over the Armenians under the present Sultan, Mr. Cox's friend, so susceptible to suffering! the amiable host of Mr. Terrell[2] and Mr. Hopkinson Smith, and General Wallace, and the first assassin of the century. There has been constant oppression in taxation. Taxes have been collected. No receipts have been given.

[1] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 143–147.

"So far as mere outsiders like me can judge, the Ambassador Extraordinary who was sent to Constantinople with special and unusual powers in May, 1880, Mr. Goschen, must be held more responsible than any other single individual for the change. He was considered to be a man of great influence in his party; and had he understood the case, and resolutely upheld the Consuls, he would doubtless have carried the Government with him. But the Consuls were a creation of the outgoing party; and their success was not likely to be agreeable to the incomers. Moreover, the new Government did not wish to be troubled with an active policy in Turkey; it desired to be quit of the whole business as easily as possible, and with the smallest amount of responsibility" (Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 148).

[2] Art. by Mr. Terrell, "An Interview with Sultan Abdul Hamid," *Century Magazine*, November, 1897, pp. 133ff.

Then the taxes have been re-collected. Crime committed without concealment has gone unpunished, Christians fearing to make complaint and knowing that their testimony as Christian testimony, and therefore presumptively false, would not be received against Mohammedans. The life of the people was perpetually rent by injustice and outrage. In June, 1893, four young Armenians and their wives went out from their village homes about two miles from Van where the governor resides with a large military force, and were picking herbs together on a hillside. They knew the perils of the land and kept close together. A band of Kurds passing by in broad daylight was attracted by the appearance of the young women, fell upon the little party, butchered the young men, outraged the young brides, mounted their horses and rode away. The next day the villagers brought in the four bodies, slashed and disfigured. Yoking up four rude ox carts they placed on each the naked remains of one of the victims with his widow sitting by his side, her hair shorn off in token of her dishonour. The village folk marched along with the carts in gruesome procession to the city. They bared their breasts to the bayonets of the Turkish soldiers who tried to turn them back and marched on through the streets of the city, multitudes of Armenians joining them and moving without tumult. The procession passed before the doors of the British and Russian Vice-Consulates, of the Persian Consul-General, the Chief of Police and other high officials, till it paused before the great palace of the Governor. The Governor looked out of the window and said: "I see it. Too bad! Take them away and bury them. I will do what is necessary." Within two days some Kurds were brought in, among whom were several who were positively identified by the women, but, upon their denying the crime, they were immediately released. Later the Governor went out to the scene of the outrage, and finding that an Armenian monastery was the nearest inhabited building, accused the priests of the murder, pillaged the monastery and punished the venerable old man at its head.[1] This incident is not exceptional. It is illustrative of what was going on somewhere among the Armenians all the time.

In 1894 the flood burst. In April a missionary wrote: "There

[1] Related by the Rev. F. D. Greene, M. A., and printed in part in *The Rule of the Turk*, pp. 63f.

is no computing the lives that are going, not in open massacre as in Bulgaria—the Government knows better than that—but in secret, silent, secluded ways. The sooner it is known the better." [1] Many perceived that some great undertaking was on foot, but no one realized the horror of it until the first blow fell at Sassoun. The doomed region was first surrounded so that no foreign eye should see the horrors to be enacted there. Government troops came down on the region and the Kurds, against whom ostensibly the troops were to protect the villagers, cooperated with them. Small companies of the troops were quartered among the defenceless people. One night about the middle of August, the butchery began and lasted about three weeks. "The Ferik Pasha who came post-haste from Erzingan, read the Sultan's firman for extermination and then, hanging the document on his breast, exhorted the soldiers not to be found wanting in their duty. On the last day of August, the anniversary of the Sultan's accession, the soldiers were especially urged to distinguish themselves, and they made it the day of the greatest slaughter. . . .

"No distinctions were made between persons or villages, as to whether they were loyal and had paid their taxes or not. The orders were to make a clean sweep. A priest and some leading men from one village went out to meet an officer, taking in their hands their tax receipts, declaring their loyalty and begging for mercy; but the village was surrounded and all human beings put to the bayonet. A large and strong man, the chief of one village, was captured by the Kurds, who tied him, threw him on the ground, and, squatting around him, stabbed him to pieces.

"At Galogozan many young men were tied hand and foot, laid in a row, covered with brushwood and burned alive. Others were seized and hacked to death piecemeal. At another village a priest and several leading men were captured, and promised release if they would tell where others had fled, but, after telling, all but the priest were killed. A chain was put around the priest's neck, and pulled from opposite sides till he was several times choked and revived, after which several bayonets were planted upright, and he raised in the air and let fall upon them.

"The men of one village, when fleeing, took the women and

[1] Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, p. 10.

children, some five hundred in number, and placed them in a sort of grotto in a ravine. After several days the soldiers found them, and butchered those who had not died of hunger.

"Sixty young women and girls were selected from one village and placed in a church, when the soldiers were ordered to do to them as they liked, after which they were butchered.

"In another village fifty choice women were set aside and urged to change their faith and become khanums in Turkish harems, but they indignantly refused to deny Christ, preferring the fate of their fathers and husbands. People were crowded into houses which were then set on fire. In one instance a little boy ran out of the flames, but was caught on a bayonet and thrown back.

"Children were frequently held up by the hair and cut in two, or had their jaws torn apart. Women with child were ripped open; older children were pulled apart by their legs. . . .

"The last stand took place on Mount Andoke (south of Moosh), where some thousand persons had sought refuge. The Kurds were sent in relays to attack them, but for ten or fifteen days were unable to get at them. The soldiers also directed the fire of their mountain guns on them, doing some execution. Finally, after the besieged had been without food for several days, and their ammunition was exhausted, the troops succeeded in reaching the summit without any loss, and let scarcely a man escape.

"Now all turned their attention to those who had been driven into the Talvoreeg district. Three or four thousand of the besieged were left in this small plain. When they saw themselves thickly surrounded on all sides by Turks and Kurds, they raised their hands to heaven with an agonizing moan for deliverance. They were thinned out by rifle shots, and the remainder were slaughtered with bayonets and swords, till a veritable river of blood flowed from the heaps of the slain." [1]

About the middle of September the Sassoun massacres came to an end and there was a momentary lull. At the lowest estimate 10,000 Armenians had been slain. But this was only the beginning. Other massacres followed as soon as it became evident that England would not prevent, and that the other Powers would not interfere. Left to his own will, the Sultan planned more and worse. Awakened by the

[1] Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, pp. 21–23.

taste of plunder, Kurd and Turk alike leaped to the gratification of greed and lust, while, through all, the religious hate of Islam furnished Sultan and subject alike with the highest vindication of their course of infamous crime. There were eleven massacres in October, 1895, and ten in November, and it was estimated at that time that 20,000 Armenians had been killed in large towns, 2,500 villages destroyed with an unknown number of villagers murdered, and 75,000 people reduced to starvation in the large towns and 350,000 in the villages. All this was in seven Turkish vilayets in Anatolia. The scenes described in the Sassoun massacres were repeated everywhere. At Birejik "the soldiers found some twenty people, men, women and children, who had taken refuge in a cave. They dragged them out and killed all the men and boys, because they would not become Moslems. After cutting down one old man, who had thus refused, they put live coals upon his body, and as he was writhing in torture, they held a Bible before him and mockingly asked him to read them some of the promises in which he had trusted."[1] A case similar to this occurred at Diarbekr the following winter. The Armenians had taken refuge in the church, which the Kurds fired, throwing firebrands and kerosene upon the people and shooting into the defenceless crowd. As they escaped from the small doorway pastor Jurjis Khudhershaw Antesholian, a graduate from the Congregational Mission Theological Seminary in 1868 was at once recognized by his beard and intelligent face as one of the clergy and was seized, thrown down and clubbed. One of the books which had been scattered about by the marauders was thrust into his mouth and he was mockingly called upon to read the church service. Firebrands were then thrown upon him, and as restored to practical consciousness by the pain he began to crawl away, he was clubbed again, drawn back and burned to ashes.[2]

These are not reports of irresponsible or prejudiced people. The British *Blue Book* contains statements of the same sort.[3] Of the massacres at Akhissar it says, "The murders were committed in the most inhuman manner: cudgels, knives, axes, swords and firearms were used. Young boys helped in the slaying. Ropes were tied to the feet of the dead, and the bodies were dragged through the

[1] *The Independent*, March, 19, 1896, p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, pp. 42, 68f.

streets (leaving clots of blood on the stones over which they were dragged), and thrown into the wells. One old man of seventy-five years was tumbled in without being killed, and was left to die among the corpses of his friends."[1] Of Cæsarea the reports state, "Women were most horribly mutilated. The universal procedure seems to have been to insist on their becoming Moslems. If they refused, they were cut down mercilessly—fairly hacked to death with knives, sickles, or anything which came handy. The young women were taken off by the Turks and taken to Hasjilar, an adjacent village. . . . As to the cause of the outbreak, the Government and it alone should be held responsible."[2] I have no taste to multiply these ghastly tales. But it is necessary to say enough to let the full horror of the course of the Turkish Government sink into our imaginations. Can any one read the simple facts without feeling that she whose duty it was, was appointed of God for vengeance?

> "Heaped in their ghastly graves they lie, the breeze
> Sickening o'er fields where others vainly wait
> For burial; and the butchers keep high state
> In silken palaces of perfumed ease.
> The panther of the desert, matched with these
> Is pitiful; beside their lust and hate
> Fire and the plague wind are compassionate
> And soft the deadliest fangs of ravening seas.
> How long shall they be borne? Is not the cup
> Of crime yet full? Doth devildom still lack
> Some consummating crown, that we hold back
> The scourge, and in Christ's borders give them room?
> How long shall they be borne, O England? Up,
> Tempest of God, and sweep them to their doom."

But no one interfered, and for two years Armenia was a great slaughter-house.[3] Its sky was black with the smoke of burning vil-

[1] *Blue Book, Turkey*, p. 70.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[3] "The actual killing was concentrated into periods," writes the Rev. F. D. Greene. "Sassoun, 1894, August 15–September 15 (about), Then no massacre for a year, till the Constantinople first riot started them, September 30, 1895, when some Armenians insisted on presenting a petition to the Grand Vizier. (See Greene, *The Rule of the Turk*, p. 27.) The bulk of the massacres took place in October–December, 1895. Those of 1896 were few and scattered and due to further provocation, as in Van and Constantinople, by Armenian agitators. It was a long reign of terror on the part of the sufferers, but the Turks acted with a de-

lages. The sobbing winds swept through the valleys laden with the wails of little violated maidens, the frightened cries of little children and the brutal shouts of the butchers. The Sassoun massacres had been in the fall of 1894. The massacres had never ceased, when Sir Philip Currie wrote placidly to Lord Salisbury on November 29, 1895, that in a long and pleasant interview with the Sultan, the latter assured him that everything had been done to restore order, and tranquillity now reigned.[1] On the following day came the massacres at Cæsarea, absolutely unprovoked, in which 1,000 innocent Armenians were killed, and this was followed by second massacres in some communities already once devastated and by continued petty atrocity over almost the whole region of Anatolia until the great butchery died away, partly of surfeit, partly because the Sultan's plan was fulfilled, in the summer of 1896.[2]

But if this was the manner of the ending of the massacres, what, we may now ask, could have been their causes?

1. The one supreme fact to be set forth is the guilt of the Ottoman Government. What the reports to the British Government declare to have been true of Cæsarea was true of the movement as a whole. "As to the cause of the outbreak, the Government, and it alone, should be held responsible. The Armenians have been perfectly quiet from first to last in Cæsarea, and never gave the slightest cause for disturbance. In this respect Cæsarea has been quite different from many other places. There is ample evidence, on the contrary, that the Government deliberately gave permission for plunder and murder to continue for four hours. Soldiers said so plainly while seated here in my house. The soldiers had positive orders not to fire on the rioters until orders to that effect should come from Constantinople."[3] And the Vice-Consul at Van wrote, "The idea of Government instigation is by no means confined to the Armenians and their friends; many Kurds have declared that they had distinct orders to plunder the Christian villages; and though their statements cannot be taken as

liberate program and then, as a rule, stopped. Of course, the *results* of the massacres *still* linger, and the people feel like a rabbit in a serpent's cage. The Turk is too sluggish to raven long at a time."

[1] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, p. 200.

[2] For full accounts of the massacres from American sources and reports to the American Government, see *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, Part II, pp. 1232–1471.

[3] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, p. 261.

proof of the fact, I do not think that those who know the Kurds of this province believe for a moment that they would be likely to start suddenly on such a general movement against the Christians entirely on their own initiative. They habitually rob the Christian villages, but unless moved by special feelings of hostility or fanaticism, it is not generally their policy to plunder them to such an extent as had been done lately; in fact, they feel that it is contrary to their interests to ruin the Christians entirely, as by so doing they kill the goose that lays the golden eggs; but when their fanaticism and predatory instincts are aroused by those in authority, they are naturally not slow to give vent to such impulses. It may be remembered that at Sassoun the Kurds were set on first against the Armenians, and it was only when they failed that the Government troops took the matter in hand."[1] The Government had adopted the principle of diminishing the importance of the Armenians. The Sultan had acted on this principle for years. He now prepared to give it a further and more comprehensive development by simply crushing the Armenian people. The Armenians were justified in incorporating in the great petition which they tried to present in Constantinople on September 30, 1895, this protest: "We protest against the systematic persecution to which our people have been subjected, especially during the last few years, a persecution which the Sublime Porte has made a principle of government with the one object of causing the Armenians to disappear from their own country, as is fully proved on the one hand by the reports of the Consuls and the correspondents of European newspapers, and, on the other, by the official reports, and the complaints which are constantly being addressed to the national Patriarchate."[2] No apology can be made for the Sultan. He knew what was going on in Armenia. He was responsible for it. It was part of the consistent policy which has marked his reign for years, even if not from its very beginning. The massacres were committed under orders for which the whole world and God, the just judge, hold Abdul Hamid accountable.[3]

2. The butchery of the Armenian nation was not an isolated caprice of the Sultan. As I have just said, it was part of a consistent

[1] *Blue Book, Turkey*, p. 288.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[3] "People here [Constantinople] say that either the Sultan is entirely controlled by some Palace clique, or that he is the 'most remarkable man,' because all the

policy, the policy, namely, of the revival of Orientalism, of the stiffening of Islam, of the overthrow of the Western and civilizing movement in Turkey. Soon after coming to the throne Abdul Hamid began to dismiss Christians from office. Under preceding Sultans Christians had risen to positions of great influence in Constantinople and the provinces. Each Governor was sure to have one or more among his most trusted advisers and agents. The Sultan put an end to this. Fifty years ago there was some hope of reform in Turkey. The miserable Crimean war did for a time create in Turkey some feeling of gratitude to England. Stratford Canning was striving to encourage every progressive element in the nation. More liberal provisions were made for the work of missions and education. The Hatti Humayoun of February, 1856, made great concessions, declaring, "My Sublime Porte will take energetic measures to insure to each sect, whatever be the number of its adherents, entire freedom in the exercise of its religion," and "No subject of my Empire shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes." The present Sultan set himself from the beginning against all this. The West had ample notice of what was taking place. In 1886 the missionaries in Syria and Palestine addressed a memorial to the representatives of the Christian Powers in Constantinople, calling attention to numerous specific evidences of the course of the Government, closing with the words: "In conclusion, we would express our apprehensions that the inevitable tendency of the repressive measures of the Porte will be to revive Mohammedan hostility to Christianity throughout this vilayet, to rekindle fires that may not easily be extinguished, to reverse the liberal and clement policy of the Sultan Abdul Mejid, who declared all Ottoman subjects to be equal before the law; to gradually extinguish, if persisted in, the only means of education and enlightenment open to the Christians of Syria and Palestine, and finally, by encouraging Mohammedan hatred to Christian churches and schools, to rouse a spirit which would soon become uncontrollable and end in a repetition of the scenes of 1860." The fears of the Syrian missionaries were well grounded. They have described here the deliberate policy of the present Sultan. He is a reactionary, an absolutist,

massacres *have certainly been ordered from the Palace*, and yet he will at times express the most humane sympathies. We heard that our Embassy is in great ill-favour, and any Turk of consequence who ventures to come there is at once a marked man" (Harris, *Letters from Armenia*, p. 3).

"autocrat to a degree that no other recent Sultan has been," [1] and set on crushing out all liberal and progressive spirit in the Empire.[2]

3. Something more must be said about the religious aspect of the Sultan's Orientalism. Not only is he an autocrat hating all tendency towards freedom and enlightenment, but he is a Moslem fanatic. Ambassadors have often been kept waiting while he sat with dervishes waiting for the moment of ecstasy. At his palace, where the palace party constitutes his real Government, a Government of intrigue and dishonesty, distinct from the Government at the Porte—he is under the constant influence of Mohammedan devotees, or men who believe in the Moslem spirit as the last resort against the movement of Christendom. For years the Sultan has been engaged in this Moslem revival which some think was due to the defeats of the Russian war of 1877–78. The Mahdi movement in Africa and many other impulses have been used to assist it. By many acute devices Abdul Hamid has been working to awaken the ancient Mohammedan spirit as a spirit of intolerance, of hate of the infidel. The recent troubles in Syria date back ten years to the coming of a certain Ramiz Bey from Constantinople to overthrow the comparatively peaceful relations of Christians and Moslems and work for a revival of Mohammedan fanaticism. "The impression made on myself," says Professor Ramsay, speaking of his travels in Armenia, "and on better observers has been, that the directors and preachers of the faith in Turkey have been engaged for a good many years in preparing the Mohammedan revival; the means whereby Turkish power is restored is always the same—massacre—and the preparation consists in preaching that it is a virtue and a merit before heaven to slay and spoil the infidels." [3] And this whole movement was, as Ramsay points out, engineered from the palace, where Mr. Terrell and General Wallace and Mr. Cox were falling in love with the amiable and tolerant man there, so sensitive to suffering and so large-hearted in his kindliness towards all his people.

How real this religious element in the massacres was, the account that I have given indicates. Always the butchers were urged on by

[1] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 140.
[2] See *The Independent*, May 16, 1895, pp. 14f, "On Deviations from the Hatti Humayoun of 1856."
[3] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 138.

the battle cries of Islam against the infidel. "God is great. Victory to the religion of Mohammed. The religion of Mohammed sprang up by the sword." Constantly the victims were offered deliverance if they would embrace Islam and thousands escaped by doing so. The movement was in part a race movement, in part a political movement, but in larger part still, so far as the perpetrators were concerned, a religious movement for the glory of Islam and the destruction of the infidel. What happened at Birejik was illustrative. Half of the population became Mussulman and were released. The Armenian Church was made into a mosque and the Protestant Church into a mosque school.[1] Vice-Consul Hallward wrote from Van, "The worst accounts I have heard are from the district of Khizan (Bitlis Vilayet), where bands of Kurds have been going round the villages forcing the Christians to become Moslem, and killing those who refuse. In some cases men who consented to become Moslems were obliged to kill their brothers who refused to change their religion."[2] Those who are skeptical about the assertion that Islam once propagated itself by the sword, have only to study the history of the Armenian massacres or to visit the villages of Anatolia to-day to see that the assertion is perfectly true.

The spirit of intolerance, of hatred of unbelievers enjoined by the Koran, and the law of Islam bidding Moslems to humiliate Christians and bring them low were made use of by the Turk in plotting and executing the policy of slaughter among the Armenians.

4. The Turk had been angered by the incessant annoyance of the Foreign Powers, especially England, on account of the condition of the Christian subjects. "The idea that there was a certain class of the population which was put under the special protection of a Christian and therefore an infidel state, undoubtedly brought up a rankling sentiment in the Moslem mind."[3] England was constantly complaining to the Porte of the abuses in Armenia. Certain reforms were under constant discussion, particularly for six special vilayets. At last the Turk got angry. He could not revenge himself upon England, so he took it out upon England's wards. The policy of England instead of helping the Armenians was undoubtedly one of the

[1] *The Independent*, March 19, 1896, p. 15.
[2] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, p. 249.
[3] McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. III, p. 380.

incitements of the massacres, and the Sultan smote the very districts which were especially concerned in the proposed reforms. The shame of England's position was made tenfold greater. She had created the feeling of special vexation with the Armenians. When the storm broke she let the Armenians bear the consequence of her interest in their woes. How sincere the British Government was in its stipulation in the convention of 1878 with Turkey regarding the Armenian Christians we may not know. The feelings of the English people have been sincere and their convictions of duty clear and honourable. But the British Government has been guilty of unfaithfulness. Undoubtedly the situation when the massacres came was tangled and difficult but if Great Britain had honourably and firmly carried out the obligations incurred in the secret convention of 1878 she would have been in a position to suppress the massacres.

5. Indeed there would have been no massacres to suppress. I have already spoken of the effect produced by the withdrawal of the military consuls located by England in Anatolia after the Treaty of Berlin and essential to the discharge by England of the obligation undertaken at that time and paid for by the island of Cyprus. That withdrawal was a tacit declaration to Turkey that any further intervention in behalf of the Armenians would be purely verbal. The issue showed this to be the case, as both the Armenians and the Sultan understood at the time. It is hard for us here to realize the significance of all this. A consul in Asia is a power. Every traveller must be impressed with his influence. An Englishman writing of a trip through this region in 1896 and suggesting possible means of the improvement of the condition of the people singled out this immediately. "They (the consuls) are a wonderful protection to the Christian population about them," he wrote, "both against acts of popular violence and against official neglect of their wrongs." [1] When England withdrew the consuls needed for the work undertaken by her in 1878, by the act she served notice on the Sultan and the Armenians alike that she left the Christians to their fate. But she kept Cyprus.

6. These and the forces resident in the national characters and governmental conditions described at the outset were the real causes of the Armenian massacres. The Turkish Government, however, naturally had another explanation. The Marquis of Salisbury wrote

[1] Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent in Asia*, p. 341.

to Sir Philip Currie on January 1, 1896, regarding an interview with the new Turkish Ambassador in which Costaki Pasha set forth the Turkish explanation: "He insisted that a dangerous and widespread conspiracy has existed among the Armenians, and that he had himself seen the papers which are the proof of it. The object of it was not the improvement of the Government of Turkey, but the erection of an autonomous Armenian State, which in the existing distribution of the population was an obvious impossibility. This conspiracy of which the existence had become known and which the Imperial Government was forced to repress, had roused a feeling of bitter resentment on the part of the Mussulman population. The result was a struggle which amounted to a civil war, and it was unhappily matter of common knowledge that in all civil wars, in all ages and countries, the most horrible outrages had frequently been perpetrated." This was the way Turkey tried to break the force of the stern condemnation of the world. Lord Salisbury was not deceived, however. In communicating Costaki Pasha's apology to Sir Philip Currie he wrote, "I said that England in past time had been a close friend of Turkey, and there was not wanting the disposition to renew that friendship again; but that so long as blood was flowing, and the terrible oppressions were continued which the dominant race exercised over the weaker, the indignation of this country would be too strong to allow the people of England to be reconciled to the action of the Turkish Government by any consideration of a political nature."[1] The English Government, however, which Lord Salisbury controlled was more easily reconciled than the English people for whom he spoke, but whose indignation in Lord Salisbury's voice did not terrify Costaki Pasha.

At the same time there was enough truth in what the Turkish Ambassador had said to furnish his Government with this excuse for its actions. There had been in existence for some years among the Armenians an organization whose purpose was to develop the nationalist feeling among the people on the one hand, and on the other in whatever way might be necessary, arouse the European Governments to some such action in their behalf as Russia had performed for the Bulgarians. The great mass of the nation had nothing to do with any such movement. Most of its intelligent men, while desiring

[1] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, pp. 28of.

keenly some form of national political unity and freedom, saw that the only way to attain it, if it was attainable, was by patience and education. But there was a small party of pure revolutionists who were ready to go to any extreme. The Huntchagist Society was composed of these.[1] It fomented the spirit of armed opposition wherever it could. It exaggerated and published over Europe all reports of outrages and oppression. The Armenian people did not respond to the incitements of the revolutionists, so they resorted to more violent means, attacking Moslems so as to arouse trouble and call the attention of Europe. They even attacked their own people. They made threats and published revolutionary placards. At last they grew desperate, and especially after the first massacres were ready to do anything to make the atrocities in Armenia so appalling that the Christian Powers, especially Russia, would have to interfere. Unquestionably they did give the Turks the very opportunity for which they had been watching and in many cases furnished them with a valid case against the Armenians as the real aggressors. But when this has been said three things need to be added. (1) The revolutionary movement among the Armenians did not justify the Turkish Government in proceeding to obliterate the whole people, women and little children, or in butchering innocent communities which had opposed the revolutionary element, and (2) while probably many sympathized with the nationalist hopes of the race, the Huntchagist party and its adherents constituted a small proportion of the people and the Turks knew well how to deal with them and to separate them from the harmless and inoffensive. (3) The wild revolutionary movement only grew up after the demonstration on England's part that she did not propose to fulfill her obligations under the Cyprus Convention. Who can wonder that the Armenians felt that their case was hopeless and that there was no relief except in a repetition of the history that set Bulgaria free? It was a wrong and wicked and frightful course, but the revolutionary party deliberately chose it. Sacrifice was better than perpetual slavery.

These were the causes of the Armenian massacres. Yet a Turk would probably have added another, namely, the influence of the missionaries. He would have alleged that the missionaries were in sympathy with the nationalist dreams and revolutionary purposes of

[1] See Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, pp. 334–338.

the advanced party, that some of its leaders had been under missionary influence, that often mission buildings were compromised with it. In this view the Turks were utterly mistaken. With the desire of the people for freedom from oppression and tyrannical misrule doubtless every Christian man in Turkey sympathized, but the missionaries had nothing to do with the Huntchagists, pointed out the wickedness and futility of the movement from the beginning and kept their enterprise as aloof as possible from every suspicion of complicity with it. [1] As Dr. Hepworth wrote after returning from the tour of investigation, which he made "at the suggestion of the Sultan" to investigate and report upon the conditions, the missionaries from the first had been opposed to revolution and had done much to maintain order and to persuade Armenians to be loyal to the Government. [2] Indeed they had incurred the enmity of the revolutionary movement on just this account. Much of the revolutionary movement was atheistic or agnostic. The missionaries of course preached an evangelical religion and strove to introduce it into the old Church also. The revolutionary Armenians valued the old Church merely as the one national bond and yet as freethinkers desired its functions to be formal and ecclesiastical merely. They disliked on both accounts accordingly the missionary propaganda. The missionaries confined themselves to their direct spiritual, educational and philanthropic work and did not touch the revolutionary movement or "try to cultivate the Armenian nationality." [3]

Apart from any relationship to the Armenian revolutionary movement, however, the Turk doubtless felt that the missionary movement had a distinctly political character. We scarcely need to disavow this. As Dr. Washburn said at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference, "American missionaries in Turkey have no political ends in view of any kind or shape whatever. They have not gone to Turkey to overthrow the Turkish Government or to reform the Turkish Government, or to have anything to do with the ruling of the country." [4] At the same time the very presence of Western men in Turkey is a

[1] Letter of Cyrus Hamlin in *Congregationalist*, December 23, 1893, quoted in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, Part II, pp. 1415f.

[2] Hepworth, *Through Armenia on Horseback*.

[3] *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, p. 453, remarks of Mr. F. Perry Powers, Editor of the *Journal of Commerce*.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 452.

hindrance to crime and misrule. The missionaries, as persons, furnished a perpetual check upon oppression. Any Western man does this; much more, men of high character. Simply by living in the country, accordingly, the missionaries by the force of their example and character, affected politics, or what is the same thing, Turkish tyranny. In the second place, the influence of Russia and France was unquestionably used in high quarters against the missionaries, who were regarded by them as emissaries of England, and Turkey was pressed to take the same view of them. Of course they were nothing of the kind, but they spoke the English language and, say what we may, we are practically one with the English in all our ideals and influences in Asia. The Turks looked upon the missionaries as English agents and hated them accordingly. And in the third place the influence of the missionary movement was wholly and powerfully in the direction of that enlightenment, progress and uprightness which the Sultan abhorred and had set himself to oppose. It cannot be denied that of this sort of revolutionary influence, Christian missions everywhere in the world are guilty. They antagonize moral evil and set in operation those forces of truth and justice which sooner or later destroy iniquity and create a new order of peace and security and righteousness. To this extent the instinct of the Sultan was correct.

The missionary movement has been the most powerful movement at work in the whole Empire towards righteousness. All of the words of the diplomats in Constantinople, words which filled the closing years of the nineteenth century with the unpleasant odor of their insincerity or of the insincerity of the purposes of the Governments back of them, have not accomplished for Turkey a fraction of what the missionaries have done, especially for the Armenians—as we are speaking now of them, although other nationalities might be included. As Ramsay says,

"They sought, first and foremost, to organize an improved system of education [1]

[1] *The Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1903, published an extract from an article in the Boston *Transcript* from Vladimir Andreieff Tsanoff in which he spoke as follows of the American Mission Schools: "All over the Orient the name 'American' has a living, breathing, stirring significance which it exercises nowhere else. Wholly apart from any abstract question of liberty, the vast American missions in the Turkish Empire are an absolute necessity there, because for many parts of Armenia and Syria the American schools supply all the

for a people already Christian, but deplorably ill-educated, and debarred by the Turkish policy for many centuries from receiving any proper education; inasmuch as any system of education among the Armenians was necessarily inconsistent with the repression of every symptom of freedom or union or organization among them, which constituted the Armenian policy of the Turks. The reforming policy of Sultan Mahmud, after he recognized that the empire could not be maintained simply on massacres like that of the Greeks in Scio, or of the Janissaries in Stamboul, inaugurated a new era. But the Armenians themselves were too crushed and down-trodden to take advantage of it. . . . The American mission stepped in to offer to the Armenians what they could not make for themselves. . . . The missionaries had almost everything against them except the three former Sultans. . . . But in spite of every obstacle, the mission grew into one of the greatest and most beneficent organizations that have ever been elaborated by private enterprise and skill. . . . The missionary colleges have sought neither to gain anything themselves nor to prevent others from gaining anything, whereas the whole aim of the diplomacy of every European Power has been first to prevent any other from gaining anything, and secondly to achieve some selfish gain. . . . Free constitutional government depends on the existence and strength and good sense of an educated middle class. . . . The work of the missionaries has been to produce an educated middle class in the Turkish lands; and they have done it with a success that implies both good method in their work and good raw material to work upon."[1]

schooling that exists. The Syrian Protestant College at the very city of Beirut has an influence extending a thousand miles. The same is true of nearly a dozen American colleges scattered over a huge territory, with their network of American missionary schools. The Turks do not make provision for the study of anything except the Koran. They do not allow the enslaved Christians to open schools of their own; it remains, therefore, for these missionaries from Europe and America to provide schools. And they have a huge territory to cover. The Euphrates College at Harpoot, which the Turks tried to set fire to a short while ago, has some 1,100 students in its collegiate and preparatory departments. The colleges at Aintab, Marsovan, the Central Turkey College, the recently organized 'American College' at Smyrna, the famous Robert College, overlooking the fortresses of the Bosphorus, all these and others, with their attendant common schools, represent a field of work at which devoted missionaries have toiled for nearly a century, with increasing success and with immeasurable beneficence. Aside from their cash value of $6,500,000 (multiply ten times to appreciate the Oriental standard of money), these American missions have received not far from $20,000,000 current expenses since the beginning of the work. Even if the commercial and political elements of the country neglected to protect these vast interests, it would be the duty of public-spirited citizens to champion them. They represent to the world, when the time comes for a final judgment, the largest single contribution of the country to a cause from which it could never hope for the slightest material return, in a remote corner of the earth. America could not afford to repudiate this signal contribution of her own to the cause of Christianity and civilization. The institutions which she has founded she must protect."

[1] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 221f, 225ff.

The missions have developed strength of character, intelligence, social virtue, honesty, independence of nature among the Armenians, awakened the old Church to new life and poured into the whole nation a new spirit. They have been the great force at work all over Asia Minor, though in the western section other forces have also worked, such as the Greek spirit, operating towards progress and life. In this the missions were encouraged by the preceding Sultans, but Abdul Hamid's policy of reaction and Mohammedan revival and Oriental absolutism has sought in every way to reverse the policy of his predecessors and crush out the missionary work.

At the same time we ought to try to see the Turkish point of view. To the nationalistic Turk the representative of Christianity and Western civilization must appear as a disturber. He represents alien ideals in religion and in politics as well. As we should fear in America a great Moslem enterprise, so naturally Moslems in Asia fear a great Christian enterprise. And they have no tradition of toleration and religious liberty and of the propriety of moral means of suasion alone, to help them to be calm and keep the peace. Furthermore as against the Armenians the Turks had causes of resentment, only half-defined perhaps and in no wise legitimate grounds for massacre, but real and powerful. The economic and industrial inferiority of the Turk is in large measure his own fault. The Armenians were accepting the new life that had entered the country and were rising by it. The Turk had rejected it. The Armenians in consequence were steadily forging ahead. They were the bankers and prosperous merchants, and the conditions of the race were visibly lifted year by year. As the Russian hated the Jew for his financial shrewdness and success, so the Turk became enraged against the Armenian. He was ready for the massacres. The chance for the revenge of unsuccess came to him and the smell of loot was sweet. We must allow for the human motive of desire to balance things up by the rough equality of ruin.

How difficult the position of the missionaries was made by the massacres is sufficiently evident. They had come to Turkey primarily for the sake of the Armenians. For them they lived. Yet they could not approve of tactics which they saw were wrong and doomed to failure and could have no other effect than simply to play into Russia's hands on one side and the Sultan's on the other. Indeed many believed that Russia was instigating the revolutionary movement with

this end in view. Even if the missionaries had approved they could have done nothing. A finger lifted would have given Turkey pretext for demanding their removal. And when the massacres began, the missionaries dared hardly speak. Was not the Sultan an amiable man? Who would believe the statements of a missionary as against the official hallucinations from Constantinople? Moreover the Sultan was watching with eagerness to discover any reason, however insignificant, for excluding from Turkey any Christian missionary. The tact and wisdom with which the missionaries carried themselves justified the words of Sir Philip Currie in speaking of the outrages: "The one bright spot in all the darkness that has covered Asiatic Turkey has been the heroism, the prudence and the common sense of the American missionaries." [1]

The situation of the missionaries, threatened with their lives and hated by the Sultan, naturally raised again the question as to the political rights of missionaries. That question will be discussed in connection with the Boxer uprising and it is necessary to say here only that Turkish firmans and treaty stipulations had established in the most secure way the rights of the missionaries to live in Turkey and to do their work there. There could be no question as to their legal rights. The only question was whether the missionaries were to be deprived of their rights by the Sultan without any protest from their own Governments. Mr. John Sherman, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate, answered "Yes." If missionaries went where they were not wanted they went at their own peril. The Government could not follow them and protect them. The missions did not

[1] Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, p. 323. "England and America sent large sums of money for the relief of the [Armenian] sufferers but the country was in such disorder that it was impossible for the representatives of the Red Cross to get this money to its destination, except through the missionaries of the American Board by whom it was sent to every part of the Empire. As Dr. Barton told us last year, besides the money of the American Board, Mr. Peet, our treasurer at Constantinople, had entrusted to him from private donors over $1,200,000, every dollar of which reached its destination with little delay and without the loss of a penny. Our missionaries are so trusted that the order of any one of them in the interior of Turkey, upon our treasurer at Constantinople, though written on a small piece of paper torn from a blank-book, is good in every way. During these outrages referred to, the Armenian Patriarch had such confidence in our missionaries that he used them to dispense the money which came to him in preference to his own priests. And it is most interesting to note that the Sultan of Turkey however much he dislikes Christianity always has a Christian to care for his private funds" (Address by Samuel B. Capen, LL. D., at Annual Meeting of the American Board, 1903, "The King's Business Requires Haste," pp. 8f.).

ask the Government to follow them. But they did expect that the Government should do for them no more, no less than it did for all its citizens, namely, secure to them the full exercise of their established rights, freely granted to them by the Turkish Government itself.[1]

The question in a sentence is simply this. Shall we represent ourselves in Asia by the purely secular and often vicious side of our civilization or shall we have there also what is best and purest? Take Constantinople alone. "Civilization represented by Western commercial enterprise and isolated from religious principle has been in contact with the people of Constantinople for many, many years. Since the Crimean war it has had untrammelled sway. Some of the externals of environment have benefited from this contact. Individuals may sometimes have been lifted out of the quagmires of the mass of the population by glimpses of what manhood really is. But there is no question as to the general result. The result has been the moral deterioration of the city and the strengthening of the repulsion felt by Turks towards the West. One of the leading Turkish papers of Constantinople dealt with this subject not long ago. It said that the one positive influence of Western civilization is against God and in favour of drunkenness and debauchery. It pointed to the great number of disorderly houses in Pera, which engulfed and destroyed large numbers of Mohammedan youth, and it declared in open terms that the family life of Europeans living in Pera is such as to lead to the supposition that marital fidelity is not known there. 'We want none of this Christian civilization,' said the Turk."[2] To be represented thus in Asia is the consequence of the anti-missionary policy. It is not the policy of true patriots or of Christians.

As from every great sorrow and sacrifice, some true blessings have flowed from the sufferings of the Armenians. (1) In many cities great revivals followed. Prof. Rendell Harris wrote from Aintab in April, 1896: "The people, too, in the midst of the sorrows, have turned their attention to religion in a way that has probably never been known before. All the churches were crowded generally twice a day, and the people will sit for hours listening to the consolations of the Kingdom of God."[3] And, again, from Aintab Dr. Fuller wrote:

[1] Dwight, *Treaty Rights of the American Missionaries in Turkey;* Dennis, *The Turkish Problem and the Status of Our Missionaries.*

[2] Dwight, *Constantinople and its Problems*, p. 194.

[3] Harris, *Letters from Armenia*, p. 44.

"There is a marvellous awakening here."[1] And there were awakenings in many other churches, where a few months before the blood of the martyrs had been flowing. (2) The common sufferings drew together the Gregorians of the old Church and the Protestants of the new. The people of the two Churches met together. Missionaries were invited to preach at the Gregorian High Mass and in many places where there had been a chasm, the chasm disappeared. The spirit of a common love in a common grief became Christian and holy. "The first result of these horrible massacres," wrote Professor Harris, "has been to draw together the various bodies of Christians and to accomplish a religious unity such as no Councils could ever have found a basis for."[2] (3) Thousands of orphans came as a consequence of the slaughter of their parents into the hands of the missionaries. It is estimated that at first 5,000 were thus thrown upon the sympathy and care and education of the missions.[3] The

[1] Harris, *Letters from Armenia*, p. 137.

[2] "The way it comes about is something like this: it is the result of three operating factors. First, the solidifying influence of an awful persecution; the same cause which brought in the early Christian Church the orthodox and the so-called heretic before the same tribunal, and often resulted in the canonization of the heretic along with the orthodox (as in the case of Perpetua and Felicitas, and other well-known martyrs), has been at work here; and the Christians here have been wonderfully drawn together by the trials through which they have had to pass. As one of the pastors said to me to-day, 'We were like pieces of cold iron, but this persecution has welded us together.' The second cause which has been at work is the sympathy of Western Protestant Nonconformity. The Armenians know very well how much of sympathy has come to them from the old English and American Evangelicals, and they have drawn their own conclusions. They say: 'We understand the Protestants now, and know that they are not heretics.' And thirdly, since the alleviation of the sufferings of the people has largely flowed through the hands of the native Armenian pastors, working with the old Gregorian Armenians, the two poles of religious thought and life have been brought into such contiguity that sparks of material love have been passing all the time. No doubt other and higher influences have also been at work which do not admit of classification under firstly, secondly, and thirdly, because they are above all, and through all, and in all. Well, one result of this upheaval in Aintab has been that the Protestants (including the college professors and native preachers) have been preaching the Gospel in the old Gregorian Church, and in the very midst of the old Gregorian ritual" (Harris, *Letters from Armenia*, pp. 43, 44).

[3] "It has been a great privilege to see the wonderful work that is being carried on here by these two giants, Dr. Raynolds and his wife. Think of a man as at once mission treasurer, distributing relief all over the plain and keeping the accounts involved and sending the reports that are required, keeping up preaching services in two places four miles apart, superintending the care of 500 orphans and 400 day pupils; the 500 not only cared for physically but taught and so utilized as in part to pay their own expenses. For example, there are trades taught; half the day is given to trades and half to study. All the

significance of this for the future it is impossible to overestimate. (4) The Huntchagist movement for the time at least was broken down and it is to be hoped that its methods of doing evil that good may come will never be revived.

On the other hand there have been grievous consequences that it will take long time to overcome. The failure of Christendom to stop the massacres left feelings of intense bitterness in the hearts of many of the Armenians. It deepened the atheistic and anarchistic tendency, already too powerful. Especially in Christian lands the Armenians who had seen their countrymen abandoned by the Christian nations came to discount and hate a religion and a civilization, which had proved so impotent in their hour of need. And could the Turk be blamed if in some measure he felt the same scorn? Christendom made great promises but in the emergency they amounted to nothing. What respect could Christendom claim for either its religion or its civilization?

It is impossible to add as any consolation for it all that no repetition of the massacres is possible.[1] It is only too possible. For the

cloth used is woven by the children in the looms on the place; the skins of the oxen and sheep eaten are cured on the place and the boys make them up into shoes. All the work needed on the place is done by boys. All the food needed is prepared on the place, which trains up another corps as bakers and cooks. So you have every day on the place, being taught to live Christian lives, not far from 1,000 children. Then add to all the above, the medical work here to which three afternoons are given and you have at least a part of the duties of this couple. Alone, without associates they have carried all these burdens, until it is a wonder they are not broken down. . . .

"The conditions in Persia are bad enough, but so far above what one finds here that there is no comparison. Think for example of having every one of the noble band who have been working here over fifty years, than whom no subject has been more loyal or done more for the advancement of the interests of the kingdom, all treated suspiciously and looked upon as traitors, unless by a very few. Think of the absolute failure to win the confidence of the Government after all these years and the constant subjection to every indignity and opposition that human ingenuity can devise. See it in the case of our detention where it would be supposed that a work carried on openly the last sixty years would at least command some respect, and yet we were treated as if we had just come from a hostile land, with the worst of schemes in our mind.

"No wonder that the poor missionaries here are often compelled to cry out, 'How long, oh God, how long?' It certainly takes a strong faith in God to abide the time of His judgment on the terrible wrongs done here" (From a letter from a visitor to Van, Turkey, November, 1899).

[1] A traveller writes from the interior, of the anarchy and disorder which are preparing the way for any woe:

"Conditions here in ——— are indescribably bad, and getting worse. Robbing and murder are of almost daily occurrence. Even Kurds dare not travel except

sad lesson of the horrors was that even the most Christian and honourable of all the European powers may not keep her pledges or intervene to save the doomed if it is difficult, or contrary to her interest to do so. The course of the other European powers is contemptible enough. All played for their own interests, Germany the most shamefully of all. England would have been but too happy to end the massacres if one other European Power had sincerely supported her. But Russia and France were working together and Germany stood off, playing the part of the Sultan's best friend, his only true friend, doing nothing for the dying and encouraging the Sultan to ignore all the proper demands of the other Powers.[1] The Emperor boldly championed the Sultan through it all, presenting him with his portrait in diamonds as a special and ostentatious sign of friendship while the Constantinople massacres were still fouling the streets. And the jealousy, duplicity, and greed of all the Powers in almost all their dealings with Turkey has been notorious. It is pitiable to read the British *Blue Book*[2] detailing the negotiations at Constantinople, while all the time the Sultan was laughing in his sleeve and the little children were sobbing on the hills of Anatolia. The attitude of the Powers was set forth unblushingly by Count Goluchowski, speaking in behalf of Russia with Sir Edmund Monson in Vienna. Sir Edmund wrote to Lord Salisbury of the interview. "In presence of this heartrending prospect," said the Count of the situation in Armenia, referring to the general conditions but especially to the massacres at Urfa and the selling of Armenian boys and girls by Circassians in the district near Aleppo, "it is intelligible that numbers of humane people are revolted at the idea that Europe is powerless, and, regardless of consequences, would wish that

in company and armed. Robbery is not done in secret but openly before the eyes of everybody. Even the so-called sacred men of the Kurds are robbed, as was done last week. Since the massacre the Kurds, the blood appetite probably being awakened at that time, have become much worse in the matter of killing. They kill without provocation, apparently for the mere pleasure of it. As the Christians say, it used to be robbery when they met a Kurd, now it is death. These Kurds are now fighting each other. The Government is merely a name. The country is in anarchy. The people are completely disheartened and simply shake their heads incredulously at any words of hope. The sad part of it is that instead of driving them to God their troubles seem to be driving them away from God. . . . There is a general feeling of anxiety here with reference to what is to come."

[1] Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 276; Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, pp. 151f.

[2] *Turkey*, No. 1, 1896.

action should be taken by some, or even by one of the Powers, to put a stop to the extermination of the miserable Armenians. But practical statesmen are bound to consider the situation from another standpoint, and to face the certainty that the conflicting interests, which are only conciliated by the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire as it stands, would at once, if the latter were threatened by coercive measures, be brought into active opposition, with infinitely more calamitous results to humanity at large than even the savageries now being perpetrated on this wretched people."[1] Could there be anything more monstrous? The Armenians must be left to be butchered, because if any one tried to save them Russia would see to it that there should be grander butchery! So Europe did nothing and England did nothing because she was in partnership with Europe. But why then did she make the separate agreement with Turkey by which England alone and not Europe took Cyprus and England alone and specifically guaranteed the rights and protection of the Armenians. It is no excuse from a great debt that the debtor has since entered into a bad partnership in which his partners object to the payment of his debt.

But, it may be asked, why did not America intervene? It is a fair question, and quixotic as the course was declared to be, there were those who believed that she should have intervened, that the failure on the part of Europe to do what was her manifest duty was a call to the United States to step in. We had no selfish interest to secure. We could have confronted the Sultan in Constantinople and told him plainly that the outrages must stop. They destroyed more American property and imperilled more American lives than any other. They affronted us more than any other nation, except Great Britain. Some are bold enough to think that we owed it to ourselves, we owed it to the Armenians, we owed it to humanity to use at Constantinople the force that was necessary and that would have amply availed to end the horrors which made America sick.[2]

But the duty was England's, and England cannot justify her failure. No talk of the Venezuelan difficulty with the United States which did not arise until four months after the Sassoun massacres,—of the peril of Russia's acquiring Constantinople, if troubles should

[1] *Blue Book, Turkey*, No. 2, 1896, pp. 282f.
[2] Woolsey, *International Law*, p. 60.

arise,[1]—or of the wrong of intervention in the affairs of another state, a plea already forestalled by the Cyprus Convention, making such intervention England's direct duty—can excuse Great Britain from the crime of watching for two years her Armenian wards led like sheep to the slaughter and slain, with no hand lifted in their defence.

[1] What many Englishmen have felt about Constantinople is shown by Prof. E. A. Freeman's position in *The Turks in Europe:*

". . . People say that we ought not help the Eastern Christians, because by so doing we play into the hands of Russia. They say that we are helping Russia to get Constantinople, and that if Russia gets Constantinople our power in India will come to an end, and that many other dreadful things will happen. And they go on to tell us that Russia is the wickedest and most dangerous of all Powers, that she is the special enemy of England, that she has dealt wickedly by Poland and other nations, that all the revolts against the Turk are got up by her intrigues, and that therefore Russia is to be withstood and thwarted and suspected in a way in which we should not withstand or thwart or suspect any other Power. Now, there are many answers to all this talk:

"1. If it is right to help the Eastern Christians, we ought to do so, whatever may come of it.

"2. We may be quite sure that Russia does not wish to get Constantinople, because to get Constantinople would be the break-up of the Russian Empire. She may possibly wish to set a Russian prince on the throne of Constantinople, as there has been talk of setting an English prince there; but such a prince would soon cease to be either Russian or English. We have seen enough of her history to know that New Rome must be New Rome, and cannot be subject to Russia or to any other power.

"3. If Russia did get Constantinople, it would make no difference to our power in India. The way to India lies, not by Constantinople, but by Egypt.

"4. There is no reason to think that Russia is in herself much better or worse than any other Power. She has done some bad things, as all other Powers have done. But it is very strange that those who now make a special outcry about Poland are the very same party who never thought of Poland before and who rather approved of Russia as long as she was really doing misdeeds. And the old misdeeds of Russia were the misdeeds of her rulers in the days when the Russian people had no voice in anything. But now the Russian people have a voice, and it is the generous impulse of the Russian people which is making their emperor come to the help of the oppressed, whether he himself wishes it or not. Russia is in no way the enemy of England, except so far as we have ourselves chosen to make her so. It is absurd to say that the revolts are all stirred up by Russian intrigues. Men who are oppressed as the nations under the Turk are oppressed do not need any foreign intriguers to tell them of their oppressions. Lastly, if Russia has any evil designs, we shall best thwart them by frankly working with her in everything which on the face of it is good. If she seeks exclusive influence in the southeastern lands, and if we wish to keep her from getting such influence, the best way is to help her to deliver those lands, and so to get an influence in them equal to hers" (pp. 90–92).

It must be admitted that this sounds a little idyllic. As to Constantinople, however, I have heard a prominent British consular representative in Western Asia frankly expressing the same opinions as Freeman's:

"We have made too much fuss over Constantinople. It naturally belongs to Russia and some day Russia will have it. We gain nothing by incurring unpopularity and dislike in resisting the inevitable."

Who can wonder that the Turks themselves scorned Great Britain and showed it at Aintab after the massacres when they saw that England would do nothing, by marching about the town leading a donkey with a mangy dog tied on its back, amid great uproar and scorn, crying contemptuously, "Make way for Queen Victoria."[1] And who can wonder that Englishmen themselves were the first to feel the shame of their position.[2] Mr. Gladstone's characteristic sense of justice and humanity found expression. He was eighty-seven years of age then. "Whether we had a right to interfere single-handed," says Mr. Morley, "whether we were bound as a duty to interfere under the Cyprus Convention; whether our intervention would provoke hostilities on the part of other Powers and even kindle a general conflagration in Europe; whether our severance of diplomatic relations with the Sultan or our withdrawal from the concert of Europe would do any good; what possible form armed intervention could take—all these are questions on which both Liberals and Tories vehemently differed from one another then, and will vehemently differ again. Mr. Gladstone was bold and firm in his replies. As to the idea, he said, that all independent action on the part of this great country was to be made chargeable for producing war in Europe, 'that is in my opinion a mistake almost more deplorable than almost any committed in the history of diplomacy.' We had a right under the convention. We had a duty under the responsibility incurred at Paris in 1856, at Berlin in 1878. The upshot of his arguments at Liverpool was that we should break off relations with the Sultan; that we should undertake not to turn hostilities to our private advantage; that we should limit our proceedings to the suppression of mischief in its aggravated form; and if Europe threatened us with war it might be necessary to recede, as France had receded under parallel circumstances from her individual policy on the Eastern Question in 1840,—receded without loss either of honour or power, believing that she had been right and wise and others wrong and unwise. If Mr. Gladstone had still had, as he puts it, 'the years of 1876,' he might have made as deep a mark. As it was, his speech at Liverpool was his last great deliverance to a public audience."[3] If Mr. Gladstone had acted while in power in 1880 as

[1] Harris, *Letters from Armenia*, p. 33.
[2] Watson, *Purple Sonnets*.
[3] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. III, p. 522.

he spoke when out of power in 1895, there would have been no Armenian massacres.

The fiercer indignation which many felt found expression in the *Purple Sonnets* of Watson:

> "Still, on Hope's loom, the infernal warp and weft
> Woven each hour! still in august renown,
> A great realm watching, under God's great frown!
> Ever the same! The little children cleft
> In twain: the little tender maidens reft
> Of maidenhood! And through a little town
> A stranger journeying wrote this record down,
> 'In all the place there was not one man left.'
> O friend, the sudden lightning of whose pen
> Makes Horror's countenance visible afar
> And Desolation's face familiar
> I think this very England of my ken
> Is wondrous like that little town, where are
> In all the streets and houses no more men."

And, alas, the tale is not yet done. So long as the Sultan can continue his game of matching Power against Power and thus secure immunity for his own designs, so long another massacre is possible. Still the same old injustice goes on. Still the Government goes from bad to worse. Still the criminal in the Yildiz plots for the triumph of his reactionary Mohammedan Orientalism and fondles his supreme Turkish method of massacre. Is there any hope of reform but destruction? "To those who expect to see a Mohammedan state become tolerant and civilized without ceasing to be a Mohammedan state," says Freeman, "I would again hold up the solitary example of the illustrious Mogul. If European Turkey," or Asiatic Turkey, we add, "is to be reformed from within, without the coercion of either enemies or friends, the career of Akbar must be the guiding star. Let the individual Mohammedan have the fullest equality with the individual Christian, but let not the individual Christian have to recognize a Mohammedan master as his sovereign. So long as a Government remains Mohammedan, so long must it be intolerant at home; so long will it only be restrained by weakness from offering to other lands the old election of 'Koran, Tribute or Sword.'"[1]

How can things grow better or be right while the Sultan destroys

[1] Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracen*, p. 203.

his own land and the Mohammedan principle that none but a Moslem can enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship rules the state? But on the other hand, how can the Turk be blamed if he distrusts Christianity and Christian Powers? The course of European politics as affecting Turkey is not charged with persuasive evangelistic power. It would be wonderful if the Turk had any feelings but fear and contempt for Christianity and the nations which profess it. While he has had opportunities to become enlightened he has been given ampler encouragement to continue bigoted and benighted and to the loss and distress of the whole world his fine qualities go undeveloped and his great possibilities of good work no useful ministry to mankind. The politics and diplomacy of Christian nations have cursed two great races—the Chinese and the Turk.

But this is politics, not missions. The missionary will go on quietly with his work, doing only what the laws allow, trangressing no just limit of his rights and displaying or encouraging no disloyalty, being patient with the patience of God, even though he must see again what for two bitter years he saw when

> "To the wild wolf Hate were sacrificed
> The panting, huddled flock whose crime was Christ."

The Going of the Spaniard

X

THE GOING OF THE SPANIARD

THE sixteenth century beheld the colonial empire of Spain spread over nearly a third of the world. The nineteenth century saw all this swept away and the nation shut back in the small peninsula, from which four hundred years before it had begun to expand. Races come and go like men. On the threshold of the twentieth century, the Slav slowly fills up the horizon where the sun appears, and in the West the Spaniard fades away. He is now scarcely a power of the third class and his influence upon the great movements of human life and of political development is ended. Surely, there should be questionings of heart in the great Church which has dominated the Spanish race and Spanish Government. Even allowing for the degeneration of the race, why is it that Spain has so swiftly and completely lost influence and power? It is the one land where the Roman Catholic Church has worked its will and developed its results absolutely without hindrance. And the consequence is ruin, intellectual and political, and what is worse, the decay of public character, where it existed, and the prevention of its development, where there was none. The Spanish-American war was simply the last touch which crumbled in the shell of Spanish pretension and showed how hollow and unreal its boastings were.

"In few decaying empires," says Dr. Dillon, "is the contrast between the glorious past and the sordid present, between fantastic dreams and repulsive facts, splendid possibilities and hateful realities, so striking and so cruel as in the land of Cervantes, Cortez and Calderon de la Barca. That once mighty kingdom is now but the merest shadow of its former self; its cities, shrivelled and shrunken to the dimensions of mere villages, are noted only for their mouldering monuments of long-departed power, wealth and glory; and the footsteps of the foreigner, as he crosses the broad public places and ill-

paved streets, or moves along the mystically sombre aisles of the majestic Cathedrals, echo and reecho with a weird ultramundane sound, till he starts and turns to assure himself that the ghosts of the past, whose presence he distinctly feels, have not suddenly risen from the historic dust. In the period of its greatness, the University alone of the Salamanca numbered more students than the entire city possesses inhabitants to-day. And nearly all the other once famous towns resemble it in this; arrested development is the curse they have inherited from the past; decay and death the principal progress visible in the present. . . . The causes of this calamitous breakdown of one of the mightiest nations of modern times are numerous, and, as some of them are open to controversy, it would serve no useful purpose to discuss them exhaustively. One of the principal evils which Spaniards themselves always admit and occasionally lament is the extraordinary lack of instruction which characterizes the people as a whole. Out of eighteen million inhabitants, the number of illiterates exceeds sixteen millions! . . . Monumental ignorance of contemporary history and modern languages has left its abiding mark on the ruling classes in Spain, and is to a large extent answerable for the irreparable calamities which have overtaken the brave, patient and noble-minded people. . . . Spain is suffering from misgovernment, from administrative corruption, from incompetent statesmen, from financial exhaustion, from the want of a clearly defined policy, from a vast nosology of political diseases. . . ."

These words were written at the close of the war over Cuba and before the final settlement had been reached at Paris and Dr. Dillon closed his article with a contrast between the two opposing nations:

". . . In all probability, Spain has lost forever not only Cuba but the Philippines, the possession of which, if properly exploited, might have been made an Open Sesame to prosperity and political existence. Her credit is destroyed. She is saddled with the Cuban debt as well as her own, and no longer possesses the wherewithal to pay the interest on the coupons. The little industry and trade she had have vanished; cotton mills and flour mills are closed. Her money has lost nearly fifty per cent. of its purchasing power at the very moment when her people are deprived of the means of earning it. Breadstuffs are become scarce, the pinch of hunger is felt throughout the kingdom, dissatisfaction is being manifested in tangible and dangerous forms, and martial law has been appealed to. And at this moment, says *El Nacional*, 'the con-

gress is enjoying the clever jokes of Señor Segasta about the ministerial crisis and roaring with laughter.'

"'On one side of the Atlantic,' says another patriotic journal, 'there is a Marine Minister who remains at his bureau day and night, and a head of the State who sometimes refuses to go to bed more than once in forty-eight hours, in order to await news of his country's fleet; and on the other side, we have Ministers who, having received the terrible news of the holocaust of Cavité, go off to a bull-fight. This significant contrast contains the germs of the future history of these two States.'

"The question as to how all these difficulties will be met and solved is in itself insoluble. . . ."[1]

Now, no one with just sympathies, will deny the great good to be found in the Catholic Church and its great service to the world. In many lands it is teaching truth to men and making them better. It is doing this in America and other countries where Protestant Governments allow it the freedom which it denies to Protestant religion where it has authority, and where the Protestant atmosphere nullifies its corruption and iniquitous absolutism. It is doing it, also, here and there in heathen lands. Father Doyle quotes fairly the testimony of Major Younghusband, in *The Heart of a Continent*, of a visit to a mission station in China.

"On our arrival, we were cordially welcomed by two priests, Père Litot and Père Maviel, and introduced to the Bishop, a noble-looking, kindly gentleman, who had lived for over thirty years in this country, and who has since died there. A noticeable feature in this village was that the inhabitants were all Christians. The mission had begun by educating and training children as Christians. These had grown into men and had sent their children in turn; and in the course of time the whole village had become Christian. We attended the services on Sunday and were very much struck by the really sincere and devout character of the converts. Brought up from their childhood as Christians and under the kindly, genial influence of these good priests, the people of the village seemed like a different race from the cold, hard Chinamen around them.

"It was indeed a pleasure to see these French missionaries and to have that warm-hearted greeting which one European will give another, of whatever nationality, in the most distant corners of the world.

"Except the French Consul, who had been sent to inquire into the outrage on Père Conroux, in the previous year, no European has ever visited these different mission stations, and we on our part had not met a European for several months, so the delight of this meeting may be well imagined. But apart from that, we

[1] *Contemporary Review*, Article, "The Ruin of Spain," June, 1898, pp. 876–906.

were very deeply impressed by the men themselves. Few men have made a deeper impression on me than these simple missionaries. They were standing, transparent types of all that is best in man; there was around them an atmosphere of pure, genuine goodness which made itself felt at once. We recognized immediately that we were not only with good men, but with real men. What they possessed was no weak sentimentality or flashy enthusiasm, but solid human worth. Far away from their friends, from all civilization, they live and work and die; they have died, two out of the three we met in these parts, since we left.

"Their strong yet gentle and simple natures, developed by the hardships of their surroundings and the loftiness of their ideals, and untainted by the contact with worldly praise and glamour, impressed itself on us at once and, as we saw evidenced in the people around, had affected the Chinese likewise.

"'Great deeds cannot die.
They with the sun and moon renew their light;
Forever blessing those who look on them.'

"Others may bring discredit on the missionary cause and produce the feeling of hostility to it which undoubtedly exists, but these are the men who are a true light to the world and who will spread the essence of Christianity—the doing of good to others—abroad.

"This remote mission station, established here where no other Europeans had ever penetrated, was a source of the greatest interest to us and fulfilled our highest ideal of such a station. There was here no elaborate, costly house, no air of luxury such as may be seen in many missionary establishments elsewhere, but everything was of the most rigorous simplicity. There was merely a plain little house, almost bare inside and with stiff, simple furniture. Under such hard conditions and with such plain surroundings, and shut off forever from intercourse with the civilized world, it might be supposed that these missionaries were dull, stern, perhaps morbid, men. But they were precisely the contrary. They had a fund of simple joviality and were hearty and full of spirits."[1]

All the good of the later Catholic Church may be admitted but it remains to be said that it has never had absolutely free course in a land which has not been ruined. It has never saved or permanently elevated a single nation. It has not purified of dishonesty and uncleanness any race where it has been left alone to do its work, and it has stamped on every continent the evidence of its inefficiency to accomplish the highest results, of its connivance at injustice and inequality and of its dissonance with freedom and progress.

[1] *Christendom Anno Domino, 1901*, Vol. II, Father Doyle's article, "Roman Catholic Missions," pp. 195f.

The primary causes and effects of the departure of the Spaniard from his lost possessions in Asia and America illustrate the truth of this view.

The occasion of the Spanish-American war was the gross misgovernment of Cuba and the feeling of the American people that they could not longer hold their hands and see such iniquity at their doors. They were indignant with Europe for allowing the Armenian massacres. How could they justify such indignation while tolerating atrocities almost as great at their own threshold? After all had been said about the Armenian Huntchagists and the Cuban Insurrectos, it remained true that Turkish rule and Spanish rule alike were unendurable and ought to be ended and the American people determined that so far as Cuba was concerned, Spanish rule should be ended at once. In settling the terms of peace at the end of the war, it was decided that Cuba should be free, and Porto Rico and the Philippines the property of the United States. The grounds for this expulsive settlement were practically the same for all the islands as those described by Mr. Foster, in the case of the Philippines: "The moral grounds for the possession of the Philippines were that the colonial administration of Spain had been conducted with great cruelty, injustice and in disregard of personal rights; that it would be inhuman and morally wrong to permit Spain to retain her sovereignty; that the weakened power of that Government would be unable to tranquillize the disordered and lawless conditions existing in the islands, to protect life and property, and to perform the obligations incident to Government; and that it was for the interest of the people of the Philippines in particular, and mankind in general, to extend to the archipelago the principles of civil liberty, equality and self-government, which form the basis of American institutions, and that to do so was a duty to the world which the United States could not rightfully ignore. It is impossible to read the utterances of President McKinley during and following the negotiations, without being satisfied that these latter considerations exercised a controlling influence with him in determining the destiny of the islands."[1]

When the war was over, Congress authorized the President to make over to the Cuban people the Government of the island on four conditions: that Cuba should undertake to make no treaty with any

[1] Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 406.

foreign power endangering its independence, to contract no debt for which its current revenue would not suffice, to concede to the United States a right of intervention, and to grant it the use of naval stations. Cuba accepted these conditions and on Feburary 24, 1902, the President and Vice-President of the Cuban Republic were formally elected. The effects of the new relationship on the trade of the United States and Cuba will appear in this statement:

In year ending June 30	1897	1899	1901	1903
Imports into U. S.	$18,406,815	$25,411,410	$43,423,088	$62,341,942
Exports to Cuba	8,259,776	18,615,707	25,964,801	21,769,572[1]

War and unrest have been succeeded by peace and tranquillity. New sanitary arrangements have purified the Cuban cities. Railroads are running over the island. New capital is pouring in. Schools and Protestant missions have been introduced. Where there was tyranny, stagnation, persecution, ignorance, and superstition, the spirit of American freedom and Protestant Christianity are now bringing in the new and different order which Spain and Rome have always opposed, but under which the Roman Catholic Church is uplifted and purified in spite of herself.

The transformation in Porto Rico has been even greater; for there American institutions have had more immediate play and have flourished in the certainty of American political jurisdiction. A newspaper writer has made a striking comparison of the changed conditions:

"... Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico had but few schools (so-called), few pupils and fewer teachers, while it now has 1,200 schools, 1,225 teachers and nearly 60,000 pupils.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico was without a normal school. Now it has one located in a fine building erected for the purpose, with over 100 Porto Rican young men and women in attendance.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico, after 400 years of Spanish occupation, did not own a single school building. Now it owns, free of all debt, forty public school buildings, equipped with modern school furniture, including the normal school before referred to, and a fine high school.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico paid little or no attention to sanitation, while now it has an active Board of Health, the result of whose labours was a re-

[1] *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1904, p. 553.

duction of 13,821 in the number of deaths in the year ended May 31, 1902, compared with the prior year.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico's public charities were but few, and those few indifferently provided for, while now, it has a well-organized department of charities, properly caring for the leper colony, insane asylum, blind asylum, girls' charity school and boys' charity school.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico knew no will but the will of Spain; now it has its own civil Government, legislative assembly, and levies and spends its own taxes.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico helped to fill the coffers at Madrid and the pockets of officials sent over from Spain, while now 'every cent of the insular revenue is spent for insular purposes,' and the Government of the United States not only bears all expenditures for national purposes in the island, but pays out a large sum monthly for the maintenance there of the native regiment.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico had only 177½ miles of roads (principal highways) though Spain had been in possession for 400 years, and though roads are an essential in an agricultural territory. Now Porto Rico has 328 miles of roads, an increase of 150½ miles in five years, or within twenty-seven miles as much roads as Spain constructed in 400 years. In addition, fifty-five miles of roads have been reconstructed and repaired, and 160 miles surveyed for proposed new roads. The result was made possible by the refund grant by Congress to Porto Rico of $2,000,000, out of the import duties previously levied by the United States.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico began business for itself, as a member of the American family, without cash capital, while now it has about $1,500,000 in its treasury, is paying its bills of $2,500,000 yearly as they become due, and its revenues are steadily increasing.

"Five years ago to-day, Porto Rico's commerce with the United States for the calendar year 1898, was:

Imports from	$2,382,170
Exports to	1,404,004
Total	$3,786,174

"While for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903, it was:

Imports from	$12,000,000
Exports to	11,000,000
	$23,000,000
Deduct 1898	3,786,174
Common Gain for one year	$19,313,826" [1]

In an atmosphere of such freedom, intelligence and progress, the

[1] *The New York Sun*, July 30, 1903. Letter of Walter J. Ballard, "Five Years in Porto Rico."

truth of evangelical religion can thrive. Already, there are eight Protestant missions in the island, where five years ago there were none; where five years ago, indeed, there was practically no religious toleration, as Segasta, himself, admitted in stating the complaints of the Spanish subjects in the West Indies; " . . . So that, if by arbitrary dispositions without appeal, by penalties imposed by proclamations of the Governors-General, or by simply ignoring the laws of procedure, the citizen may be restrained, harassed, deported even to distant territories, it is impossible for him to exercise the right of free speech, free thought, or free writing, or the freedom of instruction, or religious tolerance, nor can he practice the right of union and association." [1] That day has passed forever. Under the American flag, the thoughts and consciences of men are free.

But both Cuba and Porto Rico were near enough to the United States to have felt already the influence of our spirit and institutions. The great transformation, a real missionary transformation, has come in the Philippines.

The political conditions in the Philippines were bad. The report of the first Philippine Commission stated the matter quite temperately: "The scheme of Government instituted by Spain for the Philippines was in itself far from perfect, and in its practical operations it was open to the gravest objections. It failed to accomplish even the primary ends of good Government—the maintenance of peace and order and the even administration of justice; nor can there be any doubt that it proved an engine of oppression and exploitation of the Filipinos. It took their substance in the form of taxes and contributions and gave no equivalent in return. The preceding sections have shown the use made of the public moneys, which was in general an unproductive one. The people paid heavy taxes and were subject to annoying and vexatious restrictions on their rights; yet the country was not developed, roads were not made, popular education was not established. It almost seemed as though the great trust of Government had been perverted into a mere instrument for the benefit of the governing class at the expense of their subjects. The revenues were swallowed up by salaries, most of which seemed unnecessary. The very category of public works is only another designation for salaries. There were in reality no public works. The revenues

[1] Van Middeldyk, *The History of Puerto Rico*, p. 181.

of the archipelago were exhausted by unproductive expenditures on naval and military establishments, on salaries and pensions, on the Church, and on the colonial office in Madrid. And the people governed had no redress, as they had no control or voice in the matter.

"The most prominent defects in this scheme of Government were: (1) The boundless and autocratic powers of the Governor-General; (2) the centralization of all Governmental functions in Manila; (3) the absence of representative institutions in which the Filipinos might make their needs and desires known; (4) a pernicious system of taxation; (5) a plethora of officials who lived on the country and by their very numbers obstructed, like a circumlocution office, the public business they professed to transact; (6) division of minor responsibilities through the establishment of rival boards and offices; (7) the costliness of the system and the corruption it bred; and (8) confusion between the functions of the state and the functions of the Church and of the religious orders." [1]

What Manila was under the Spaniards, any book of travel written before the war will indicate. "Considered as a contemporary community," wrote Mr. Henry Norman, after his visit, "Manila is an interesting example of the social product of the Roman Catholic Church when unrestrained by any outside influence. Here the Church has free sway, undeterred by secular criticism. All is in the hands of the priests. The great monasteries, with their high barred windows, shelter the power, the wealth, the knowledge of the community. The Dominicans, with their Archbishop, the Augustinians, the Recoletanos, and the Franciscans, divide the people among them, their influence being in the order that I have named them. Wise in the knowledge of that which they have created, their own wealth is invested in foreign banks, chiefly in Hongkong, though that of the Dominicans, richest of all, is entrusted to the Agra Bank. The people are plunged in superstition, and their principal professed interest in life (after cock-fighting) is the elaborate religious procession for which every feast-day offers a pretext. The two newspapers are parodies of the modern press, ignorant of news, devoid of opinion save the priests', devoted in equal parts to homily and twaddle. The port, for its exasperating restrictions and obstructions, is said by agents and captains to be the most disagreeable in the world to enter

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. I, pp. 81f.

or to leave. The civil authority itself is in many respects subject to the religious; during the chief religious festivals, nobody but the Archbishop is permitted to ride in a carriage. A large part of the real estate of the city is in the possession of the religious orders. If you would prosper, it is indispensable that you should be on good terms with the priests. Their suspicion and disfavour means ruin. The personal liberty of the common man may almost be said to be in their keeping. It is hardly necessary to add that the people as a whole are idle and dissipated, and that most of the trade is in the hands of the foreign houses. Altogether, Manila, distant as it is from other communities, with little intercourse to enlighten it, and few visitors to criticise or report, is a remarkable and instructive example of the free natural development of 'age-reared priestcraft and its shapes of woe.' Of the six characteristics of Manila—tobacco, hemp, earthquakes, cock-fighting, priestcraft and orchids—the first two are known to all the world." [1] It is not the first two alone that are well known. The Manila lottery was one of the best known and most demoralizing institutions in western Asia. Its tickets were peddled on the streets from Singapore to Shanghai and sold on steamer decks and in inland villages. The annual average value of lottery tickets imported and exported from 1884 to 1886 was $807,680.

On all trade there were the most exacting and repressive limitations.

"A business man in Manila imported some cotton goods. He declared them correctly at the customs, but could not get them passed. After nearly two months of vexatious delays, a customs officer said to him, 'How would you like to pay $300 or $400 to get your goods through?' This was about as much profit as he expected to make on the entire consignment. He said, 'I will not give you a cent.' The next day he received a notice from the customs that his goods had been examined and found to be silk, and he was fined $5,000. He had his appeal, of course, but he would have to bribe some one in order to get it presented to the higher authorities, and then there was no hope of his ever getting a cent back. A merchant told me that he had some goods stolen out of the custom-house (a not infrequent occurrence) and after exhausting every effort locally to obtain redress, he sent the claim to the Foreign Office in London. They sent it to the Spanish Government through the British Minister at Madrid, and, finally, five years after the goods had been stolen, he received press copies of instructions from the Spanish Government to the Manila customs to pay. He

[1] Norman, *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, pp. 174f.

received their decision, which was as follows: 'The Government ordered A and B to pay conjointly. A is dead and cannot pay and B is not responsible.' Just before the war, the steamer *Esmeralda* took among other cargo to Manila, 3,000 bags of American flour. The customs officers said that thirty bags had a different mark on them from the others, and a fine of $3,000 was imposed upon the ship. It is not necessary to say that the 'fine' would have gone into the pockets of the officials." [1]

In one word, the administration of the island was Spanish, thoroughly and consistently. Nothing more needs to be said. The first import of honesty and right principle would inevitably reveal its worthless and illegitimate character. The bombastic proclamation of the Captain General of the Philippines, issued at Manila on April 23, 1898, shows the utter unreality of the Spanish spirit and of its exhibition in administration:

"Spaniards: Between Spain and the United States of North America hostilities have broken out. The moment has come for us to show to the world that we have courage to spare to conquer those who, feigning to be our loyal friends, have taken advantage of our misfortune and have exploited our magnanimity by the use of means that cultured nations hold to be base and unworthy.

"The North American people, made up of all social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and have provoked a war by their perfidious machinations, by their unloyal acts, by their attempts upon the rights of peoples and upon international convictions. The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of victories will grant unto us one that is brilliant and complete, as reason and the justice of our cause demand. Spain, that has the sympathy of every nation, will come out triumphant from this new trial, humiliating and dumfounding the adventures of those States who, without homogeneity and without history, only offer to humanity shameful traditions and the spectacle of legislative chambers wherein there appear united insolency and defamation, cowardice and cynicism.

"A fleet, manned by foreigners without instructions and without discipline, is about to come to this archipelago with the wild purpose of taking away from you all that implies life, honour and liberty. The North American sailors pretend to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable, and they appear to look upon as a feasible enterprise, the substitution of the Catholic religion, which you profess, by that of Protestantism; to treat you as tribes refractory to civilization, to possess themselves of your riches, as if the right of ownership were unknown to you; to seize, in a word, those among you whom they may consider useful to man their ships, or to work their lands and carry on their industries. Vain design! Ridiculous boasting!

[1] *Bible Work in the Philippines*, A. B. S. Series No. 3, p. 8; Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 57–70, 174–198. Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, Ch. XXI.

"Your indomitable bravery will suffice to prevent them from daring to attempt, much less to realize them. Ye will not consent, no, that the religion which ye profess be scoffed at, nor that impetuous feet shall desecrate the temple of the true God, nor that unbelief shall demolish the sacred images which ye adore. The aggressors shall not profane the tomb of your fathers; they shall not satisfy their impure passions at the cost of the honour of your wives and daughters; they shall not seize the property that your self-denial has accumulated to maintain your lives; they shall not realize, no, none of those crimes begotten to their wickedness and avarice, because your valour and your patriotism suffice to frighten and overwhelm the people, who, calling themselves civilized and cultured, have resorted to the extermination of the aborigines of North America, without making the effort to bring them to civilization and progress.

"Filipinos, prepare for the struggle. For, united under the protection of the glorious Spanish flag, always covered with laurels, we will fight with the conviction that victory will crown our efforts, and we will answer the intimidation of our enemies with the decisive action of the Christian and patriot at the shouts of 'Viva España!'

"Augustin, Your General." [1]

The Government was bad enough. But bad as it was, the Church was even worse. Indeed, as these quotations have indicated, the Government was simply the tool of the Church and the Church authorities were the real rulers of the islands. Mr. Foreman asserts this unequivocally. "The real rulers of the islands are the four corporations of friars—namely, the Augustin, Dominican, Franciscan, and Recoleto orders. Their influence has been predominant since the foundation of the colony. In times gone by, there have been most fierce contests between the governors and the monastic orders, in which the former have almost invariably been the losers. One Governor-General, Bustamente, was murdered in his palace at the instigation of the holy friars, who followed up his dead body, and hooted as it was being dragged through the streets of Manila. They caused Governor-General Solano to be poisoned. Only last year, a certain Father Piernavieja, who had committed two murders in the provinces and was still permitted to say mass, was put to death by the rebels. Any Governor-General who displeases the monks is recalled. In recent times, General Despujols had to leave in 1892, after eight months of office, because he ceased to be persona grata to

[1] *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the period from December 1, 1900, to October 15, 1901*, Part I, p. 170.

the priests. A native, Dr. Rizal, had written and published some facts about the monastic orders, and Despujols refused to have this man put to death for it. Then again, he ordered a search to be made in a convent of the Augustin friars, and there found a printing-press and seditious leaflets being printed for the priests, who intended by distributing them to attribute to the natives an attempted revolt. General Blanco (now in Havana) was recalled at the instigation of the friars, because he proved to be too humane for them when the rebellion broke out. Finally, they succeeded in having appointed a Governor-General after their own hearts, Camilo Polavieja, through whom they had Dr. Rizal above mentioned, executed in Manila in January of last year. . . ."[1]

What was true of Manila, was true of the islands generally. The Taft Philippine Commission Report of November 30, 1900, dealt carefully and explicitly with this point:

"The friar as a parish priest was usually the only man of intelligence and education who knew both the native dialect and the Spanish language well in his parish. His position as the spiritual guide of the people necessarily led to his acting as intermediary between them and the rest of the world in secular matters. In only a few of the parishes was there any other Spanish representative of the Government of Spain than the friar priest. At first actually, and afterwards by law, he came to discharge many civil functions and to supervise, correct or veto anything which was done or sought to be done in the pueblo which was his parish. The provincial of the Franciscan order describes his civil functions as follows:

"'The following may be mentioned as among the principal duties or powers exercised by the parish priest: He was inspector of primary schools; president of the health board and board of charities; president of the board of urban taxation; inspector of taxation; previously, he was the actual president, but lately the honorary president of the board of public works.

"'He certified the correctness of the cedulas, seeing that they conformed to the entries in the parish books. They did not have civil registration here, and so they had to depend upon the books of the parish priest. These books were sent in for the purpose of this cedula taxation, but were not received by the authorities unless viséd by the priest.

"'He was president of the board of statistics because he was the only person who had any education. He was asked to do this work so that better results could be obtained. It was against the will of the parish priest to do this, but

[1] *Contemporary Review*, July, 1898, Article, "Spain and the Philippine Islands," pp. 26f.; See also Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About*, Ch. XI.

he could only do as he was told. If they refused they were told that they were unpatriotic and not Spaniards. If they had declined, they would have been removed from their charge.

"'He was president of the census-taking of the town. Under the Spanish law, every man had to be furnished with a certificate of character. If a man was imprisoned and he was from another town, they would send to that other town for his antecedents, and the court would examine whether they were good or bad. They would not be received, however, unless the parish priest had his visé on them. The priest also certified as to the civil status of persons.

"'Every year, they drew lots for those who were to serve in the army, every fifth man drawn being taken. The parish priest would certify as to that man's condition. . . . Every year they would go to what they called the sacramental books and get the names of those who were over twenty years of age. This list being certified to by the parish priest, the names were placed in an urn and then drawn. Every fifth man was taken. . . . They disliked the service. Many of them would take to the woods and the civil guard would have to go after them and bring them back. They would be put in jail and guarded until they could be taken to the capital city. There were many cases of desertion. . . .

"'By law, the priest had to be present when there were elections for municipal offices. Very often the parish priest did not want to go, and the people would come to him and say, "Come, for there will be disturbances and you will settle many difficulties."

"'He was the censor of the municipal budgets before they were sent to the provincial governor.

"'He was the president of the prison board and inspector (in turn) of the food provided for the prisoners.

"'He was a member of the provincial board. Besides the parish priest, there were two curates who served on this board. Before the provincial board came all matters relating to public works and other cognate matters. All estimates for public buildings in the municipalities were submitted to this board.

"'He was also a member of the board for partitioning crown lands. After the land was surveyed and divided and a person wanted to sell his land, he would present his certificate and the board would pass on the question whether or not he was the owner. . . .

"'In some cases, the parish priests in the capitals of the provinces would act as auditors. In some of these places there would be only the administrator, and then the curate would come in and act as auditor.

"'A great many of the duties I am now enumerating were given to the priests by the municipal law of Maura.

"'He was also counsellor for the municipal counsel when that body met. They would notify him that they were going to hold a meeting and invite him to be present.

"'The priest was the supervisor of the election of the police force. This also had to be submitted to the provincial governor.

"'He was the examiner of the scholars attending the first and second grades in the public schools.

"'He was the censor of the plays, comedies and dramas in the language of the country, deciding whether they were against the public peace or the public morals. These plays were presented at the various fiestas of the people.

"'Besides the above, there were other small things which devolved upon the priest.'

"It is easy to see from this that the priest was not only the spiritual guide, but that he was in every sense the municipal ruler.

"It further appeared from evidence of other friars that whenever a resident of any pueblo was suspected of being a disturber of the peace or a plotter against the Government, or a dangerous character in other respects, no action was taken until the parish priest was consulted by the heads of the insular Government.

"During the years immediately preceding 1898, there were many deportations of residents, of the various pueblos to the far distant southern islands of the group, and whether unjustly or not, the parish priests were charged by the people with being instrumental in bringing these about, and it is said by anti-friar witnesses, though denied by the friars, that in most of the cases, the deportations were initiated by the friars, who for this reason came to be looked on by the people as having the power of life and death over their parishioners.

"The archbishop and bishops formed part of what was known in Manila as the board of authorities. The duties of this board were principally to investigate matters of urgent moment and in times of crises to advise the Governor-General. The archbishop and bishops constituted the section of the board on 'Government and fomento' (analogous to our Department of the Interior). The archbishop and bishops and provincials of the religious orders also formed a part of the council of administration, a body analogous to the Council of State of Spain or France, charged with advising the Governor-General. Each order had a leading officer resident in Madrid, through whom the court of Spain could be quickly and directly reached by the order in the Philippines, without the intervention of the civil or military authorities of the islands. The participation of the friars in the affairs of the parish, provincial and insular Governments was much more effective to secure entire control of the political situation than if the priests had been merely secular and not bound together with the close association of the monastic orders.

"The truth is that the whole Government of Spain in these islands rested on the friars. To use the expression of the provincial of the Augustinians, the friars were 'the pedestal or foundation of the sovereignty of Spain in these islands,' which being removed, 'the whole structure would topple over.' The number of Spanish troops in these islands did not exceed 5,000, until the revolution. The tenure of office of the friar curate was permanent. There was but little rotation of priests among the parishes. Once settled in a parish, a priest usually contin-

ued there until superannuation. He was, therefore, a constant political factor for a generation. The same was true of the archbishop and bishops. The civil and military officers of Spain in the islands were here for not longer than four years and more often for a less period. The friars, priests and bishops, therefore, constituted a solid, powerful, permanent, well-organized political force in the islands which dominated policies. The stay of those officers who attempted to pursue a course at variance with that deemed wise by the orders was invariably shortened by monastic influence." [1]

Under this rule of the Roman Church, the Philippines became what they were. The mass of the people were docile and content. They were ignorant children, kept so by the Church. There was no real education.

"Under Spanish rule," says the Taft Commission, "there was established in these islands, a system of primary schools. The Spanish regulations provided that there should be one male and one female primary school-teacher for each 5,000 inhabitants. It is clearly shown in the report of the first Philippine Commission that even this inadequate provision was never carried out. They say: 'Taking the entire population at 8,000,000, we find that there is but one teacher to each 4,179 inhabitants.' There were no schoolhouses, no modern furniture, and, until the Americans came, there were no good text-books. The schools were and are now held in the residences of the teachers, or in buildings hired by the municipalities and used by the principals as dwellings. In some of the schools, there were wooden benches and tables, but it was not at all unusual to find a school without any seats for the pupils. In these primary schools reading, writing, sacred history and the catechism were taught. Except in very few towns, the four elementary arithmetical processes were attempted, and in a few towns a book on geography was used as a reading book. Girls were taught embroidery and needlework. From the beginning, the schools were entirely under the supervision of the religious orders, who were disposed to emphasize secondary and higher education for a few pupils, rather than to further and promote the primary education of the masses. The result of this policy is that a few persons have stood out prominently as educated Filipinos, while the great mass of the people have either not been educated at all or furnished only with the rudiments of knowledge, acquiring merely the mechanical processes of reading and writing. . . . It is stated on good authority that when the Spaniards came here, several of the tribes of the Philippine Islands could read and write their own language. At the present time, after three hundred years of Spanish domination, the bulk of the people cannot do this. The Spanish minister for the colonies, in a report made December 5, 1870, points out that by the process of absorption, matters of education had become concentrated in the hands of the

[1] *Report of the Taft Philippine Commission, Fifty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Document No. 112*, pp. 24–27.

religious orders. He says: 'While every acknowledgment should be made of their services, in earlier times, their narrow, exclusively religious system of education, and their imperviousness to modern or external ideas and influences, which every day become more and more evident, rendered secularization of instruction necessary.' . . . It is stated that in 1897, there were in these islands 2,167 public schools. The ineffectiveness of these schools will be seen when it is remembered that a school under the Spanish régime was a strictly sectarian, ungraded school, with no prescribed course of study and no definite standards for each year, and that they were in charge of duly certified but hardly professionally trained or progressive teachers, housed in unsuitable and unsanitary buildings."[1] The former Commission reported, "Public education in the Philippines is one of the branches of the administration which was most neglected by the Spanish Government."[2] In its second report, the Taft Commission declared, "In our last report, we pointed out that the great body of the people were ignorant, superstitious and at present incapable of understanding any Government but that of absolutism. The intelligence and education of the people may be largely measured by knowledge of the Spanish language. Less than ten per cent. of the people speak Spanish. With Spaniards in control of these islands for four hundred years and with Spanish spoken in all official avenues, nothing could be more significant of the lack of real intelligence among the people than this statement. . . ."[3]

It is not necessary to speak of the moral condition of the Philippines or of the Catholic priesthood there. It is enough to have in mind the political and educational conditions, and then to remember that these were wholly satisfactory to the Catholic Church. In the report of the First Philippine Commission, there was presented a long paper on the "Propagation of Catholicism" in the Philippines, furnished by the Jesuit fathers of Manila, in which they frankly expressed their delight and contentment with the conditions:

"What a beautiful page for the Catholic Church the history of the propagation of Christianity in the Philippines presents! What fruitfulness on the part of the Church! What glory for the missionaries! What honour for Spain! The monks arrived at these islands in the year 1565. They found in them about 2,000,000 inhabitants, some of them wholly savage, cannibals, semi-barbarians; all of them pagans, idolaters, sunk in the densest darkness of superstition, slavery

[1] *Report of the Taft Philippine Commission, Fifty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Document No. 112*, pp. 105, 106.

[2] *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. II, p. 456.

[3] *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the period from December 1, 1900, to October 15, 1901*, Part I, pp. 19f.; See Brown, *Report of a Visitation to the Philippine Mission of the Presbyterian Church*, Second Edition, p. 63.

and vice. But what was the condition of the Philippines one century later? The barbarians had already been reduced to civil and orderly life; idolatry had disappeared; slavery had been abolished; matrimony had been sanctified; thousands of children attended the schools, magnificent churches had been erected, and 1,000,000 inhabitants had received the waters of baptism and practiced the Christian religion, just as those born in Europe. In the succeeding century, the number of Catholics became 2,000,000 and soon 6,000,000.

"This is the work of the Catholic Church and of the Catholic Spanish nation true mothers, the one spiritual and the other temporal, of this fortunate colony; the most pious spirit of both dictating the benevolent dispositions and concessions of the Popes and of the Philippine episcopate, and of the most magnanimous and humanitarian laws of the never sufficiently praised code of the Indies, so suited to the capacity and so protective of the rights of the Indians, that it seems to come rather from the good heart of a Pontiff than from a temporal monarch—a true model of Christian secular legislation. These two powers and legislations always working with the most admirable harmony during the first three centuries, were the two agents, but in spirit one, of this work of culture, which has no equal in the history of colonial civilization."[1]

Into this Philippine paradise of civilization and culture, the Catholic priests were zealous that no irreligious or disturbing influence should be allowed to come. It is of importance to set forth their spirit in the matter. On April 28, 1898, the Archbishop of Manila issued an appeal in which he said:

"In these moments of trial, it is our duty to inform ye, beloved sons, that your faith exacts from you the compliance with two duties—to pray and to fight. A heterodox people, possessed of the blackest rancour and all the abject passions that heresy engenders, purposes to attack us. They hate in us that which we most value—our religion, the religion of our fathers, left to us as a most precious legacy, that we are obliged to retain intact, even at the cost of our lives. If for the evil of our sins, God should permit the intentions of the aggressor to prosper, the desolation and ruin of our people would be complete; soon would they see the heartrending spectacle of their temples razed, the altars of the true God profaned, and our religion swept away by the diversity of sects that the heretic banner protects; the peace of our homes and all the wealth of our people, united and ennobled by the practices and teachings of the Christian faith, would completely disappear, impelled by the implacable hatred that our enemies profess for the religion and races differing from its own. . . ."[2]

Later, on May 8th, the Archbishop issued a yet more eager appeal:

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. IV, p. 104.
[2] *Ibid., 1900, 1901*, Part I, p. 172.

"To the Faithful: The North American Fleet appeared at dawn upon the fateful day to this our country, my beloved sons, lording it over our beautiful bay to accomplish in a few moments and in spite of the heroism of our sailors, the destruction of our ships and to succeed in planting in one of our strongholds, the blessed soil of the fatherland, the enemy's flag. Ye know who it is, that full of pride, thus trampling upon our rights, seeks to overwhelm ye, and ye also know what his purposes are. He is the foreigner who wishes to subject us to his harsh yoke; he is the heretic who wishes to tear us from our religion and snatch us from the maternal bosom of the Catholic Church; he is the insatiable trader who desires to enlarge his fortune with the ruin of Spain and its possessions.

"Poor Spain, if the invader should succeed in his purpose. Poor Filipinos, the day that the North American establishes a permanent Government here. Unfortunate Indians, subjugated by the people who lack the Catholic faith of Spain, who have not the maternal blood, nor the noble magnanimity, nor the community of interests and of history, dating back to more than three centuries, nor the mixture of blood that circulates through the veins of many of us, who in a hundred glorious deeds have shed it to our common defence, united by a common brotherhood, the sons of the mother country and of the colony. Soon, we will see an insuperable barrier established between ye and your vainglorious masters. No longer will there be for you employment nor office nor any participation whatsoever in the Government and administration of the pueblos. Ye will become a separate group in civil life, ye will be villified as pariahs, exploited as miserable colonists, reduced to the condition of labourers, aye, and even to that of beasts and machines, fed with a handful of rice or corn, which our lords will throw in your faces as daily rations, so that he may not be deprived of the product of your sweat, while he will be regaled as a prince, with the fruits and treasure of an estate that is yours, not his. Ah, and this is not all, nor the worst, for ye will soon see your temples in ruin or converted into Protestant chapels, where oh, sorrow, the God of Eucharist is dethroned and where the Virgin Mary, our sweetest mother, has no pedestal. The cross will disappear from your cemeteries, the crucifix from your schools, as also the ministers of the true God who made ye Christians in baptism, who have so many times absolved ye from your sins, who have united ye in holy matrimony, who should minister unto thee, console and assist ye in your last hour, and thereafter when ye are dead apply the last rites of the holy church. Ye, perhaps, with heroic faith and valour, will continue within your hearts being Catholics as before or firmer than heretofore, who can tell. But what would become of the flesh of your flesh, your tender sons, especially after they had been fatherless, in the midst of a Protestant nation, Protestant legislation, faith, teachings, and customs, and the free exhibition and propaganda of vice and error? Ah, what will prevent there being within a period of half a century no more Christian practices or beliefs in all this country, nor that not one should be left who would make a sign of the Saviour's cross upon his forehead. Poor Filipinos, unhappy in this life and unhappy in eternal life.

"Fortunately, beloved Filipino people, at the roar of the enemy's cannon and

at the shouts of alarm and at the watchword of your governors, ye have understood all the risk that ye run. As one man ye will prepare your defence, and as one heart, ye will lift your prayers to heaven. This, this is certainly the only way of salvation. To arms! and to prayer as one man! To arms! because the Spanish people, though debilitated, when wounded in their patriotism and the defence of their religion, are capable of most glorious deeds. Let us pray, then, for even the strong and those who have justice on their side must remember that it is always a God who gives the victory, for it is not prayer alone, nor is it alone the battle—military effort and the help of God combined. God and His angels and saints be with us, for if it is so come to pass, who can vanquish us?

"Moreover, to the end that prayer may become more general in concord and more efficacious, it has appeared to us an inspiration from on high the idea of consecrating the sacred heart of Jesus throughout all the Philippine Archipelago, and to offer it when we shall have seen ourselves free from all our present tribulations, worship of an exceptionally devout and magnificent sort upon the day when the Church shall celebrate that feast, on Friday next after the Corpus Christi, the 17th of next June, or some other date, if that were impossible and should be considered more timely to postpone it. By this and aside from the private consecration of these islands, which we have already made on the first Friday of this month upon offering to God in the holy mass of the sacred body of Jesus, we did so, not only in our own name and that of our other diocesan prelates, but also in that of the most excellent Governor-General, who, no less fervent Christian than prudent patriot and great military commander, awaits from God and now offers to God a triumph through mediation of the deific heart, and thus interpreting the desires of the mass of the people of the islands, that is everywhere so devout, and invoking the intercession of all the patron saints of the islands and principally of the sovereign queen of all, the most Holy Virgin of the rosary.

"In the deep-rooted hope of solemnizing very soon this consecration and offertory, for the present deprived from us, we give to all beloved sons our benediction in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."[1]

All allowance should be made for ignorance even in an Archbishop of Manila and also for the forms in which knowledge sometimes appeals to ignorance; but even with such allowance, the spirit of these appeals is very repugnant to the spirit of our institutions and they illustrate the zeal of the Catholic Church to exclude from the islands both civil and religious intrusion.

The Church having always been identified with Spanish rule, just as it identified itself in these appeals of the Archbishop, who saw the doom of the Church in the fall of Spanish authority, it was most natural that the Filipinos should demand at least the withdrawal of the

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, December 1900 to October 1901*, Part I, pp. 168f.

representatives of the Church who had always been to them the embodiment of their political oppression, and that once thinking of freedom, they should ask for as much of it as they desired and could define. This was what they did. The peril to the Church which the Archbishop of Manila dreaded lay not in American conquest, but in Philippine revolution. When in November, 1898, General Otis tried to secure from Aguinaldo the release of some Spanish priests, Aguinaldo refused. "He charged that the religious corporations of the Philippines had acquired large agricultural colonies by means of fraud; the products of these lands, he stated, were first granted, but in the course of time possession was taken of the lands, and they have ever since been held by the religious corporations, which were aided by the Spanish authorities; he stated that the privilege of absolving belongs solely to the secular clergy, to which the Filipino priests belong, and that this privilege had been absorbed by the religious orders; he stated that the primary causes of the Philippine revolution were the ecclesiastical corporations, which, taking advantage of the corrupt Spanish Government, robbed the country, preventing liberty and progress; he claimed for the Filipino priests the right to appointment to the duties of bishops and parochial priests; he denounced as dangerous to the interests of the Philippines, the allowance to the regular Spanish clergy to continue their rule in the islands, believing that they would incite a counter revolution in the interests of Spain." [1]

And a good part of the demands of the people for independence, expressed in the Tagalog insurrection before the capture of Manila, had to do with some abridgment of the tyranny of the Church. The first Commission reports these demands as covering:

"1. Expulsion of the friars and restitution to the townships of lands which the friars have appropriated, dividing the incumbencies held by them, as well as the episcopal sees, equally between peninsular and insular secular priests.

"2. Spain must concede to us, as she has to Cuba, parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, toleration of all religious sects, laws common with hers, and administrative and economic autonomy.

"3. Equality in treatment and pay between peninsular and insular civil servants.

"4. Restitution of all lands appropriated by the friars to the townships, or to the original owners, or in default of finding such owners, the state is to put them

[1] *Report of Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. I, p. 130.

up to public auction in small lots of a value within the reach of all and payable within four years, the same as the present state lands.

"5. Abolition of the Government authorities' power to banish citizens, as well as unjust measures against Filipinos; legal equality for all persons, whether peninsular or insular, under the civil as well as the penal code."[1]

The first great question, accordingly, with which the United States Government had to deal in the Philippines was a religious question, namely, the question of its attitude towards the Catholic Church and the friars on one hand, and on the other, towards the Protestant Churches, which of course went in with the American occupation, and the implacable opposition of the people to the return of the friars to the parishes from which they had fled with the fall of Spanish rule.

The insurgents had included in their demands a requirement of religious liberty. That was one of the fundamental elements of the American spirit, and from the outset it was asserted to be an indispensable part of the American program. Mr. McKinley embodied it in his first statement. There had been no religious liberty or toleration. No Protestant preacher was allowed in the islands. There could be no Protestant funeral services or marriages. The Bible was not admitted. Dr. Hykes, the agent of the American Bible Society in Shanghai, says: "An attempt was made in 1889 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, who in March of that year sent two colporteurs, M. Alonzo Lallave and F. de P. Castells, to Manila to try and distribute the Word of God. Shortly after their arrival, and after distributing a few copies of the Scriptures, they were poisoned in the Hotel de Oriente, at which they were stopping. While I was in Manila I met an old resident, who told me that he knew Lallave, who had formerly been a Roman Catholic priest in the Philippines, and he spoke in the highest terms of his sterling character. This gentleman also told me that the hatred of the priests towards Lallave was so bitter that his body was refused burial, and lay for several days in the cemetery until it was in an advanced stage of decomposition. Castells did not die from the effects of his poisoning, but was thrown into prison at the instigation of the priests and afterwards banished from the islands. This was the first and only effort made to sell the Scriptures in the Philippines."[2]

[1] *Report of Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. I, p. 84.
[2] *Bible Work in the Philippines*, A. B. S. Series, No. 3, pp. 20f.

How strict was the quarantine against anything hostile to the priests is illustrated by Mr. Norman's story of his experience:

"For myself, Manila will always be remembered as the place where for the first time I had my pockets publicly and officially searched. As soon as we anchored, a guard of soldiers came on board and assisted the custom-house officials in minutely examining everything in our baggage. When this was over, I was stopped at the head of the gangway by the lieutenant in command and courteously informed that before I could land he must be permitted to see what I had in my pockets. When it came to my pocketbook, he turned it over, separating every piece of paper in it. A bystander informed me that all this was to prevent the introduction of Mexican dollars, on which there is a premium and which are prohibited of a date later than 1877, and a pamphlet attacking the priests, recently published in Hongkong." [1]

Even after the American acquisition of the islands, the Catholics opposed religious liberty, arguing for the exclusion of the Protestant influence, even to the prohibition of any public Protestant worship on the part of Americans. This is frankly set forth by the Jesuit fathers of Manila in the paper published in the Report of the Philippine Commission:

"Therefore, religion—and, consequently, morality—being so universal in the Philippines, would it be advisable to introduce liberty of religious worship in this country? If by freedom of religion is understood religious tolerance in fact, by virtue of which no one can be compelled to profess Catholicism, or be persecuted for not being a Catholic, but each individual may privately profess the religion which suits him best, then this liberty has always existed in the Philippines; and no Filipino or foreigner has ever been forced to embrace the Catholic religion. But if by liberty of religions is understood the granting to all religions—for example, the worship of Confucius, or of Mohammed—and to all the Protestant sects equal rights to open schools, erect churches, create parishes, have processions and public ceremonies, with the Catholic Church, we believe that it would not only not be advisable, but it would be a lamentable measure for any Government which may rule the destinies of the Filipinos. In fact, if this Government should concede this liberty of religions, it will make itself hateful to 6,500,000 of Filipino Catholics; because, although said Government may not profess any religion, the Filipino people would hold it responsible for all the consequences of this measure, and so it could not be regarded favourably by these 6,500,000 Catholics. They are fully convinced that their religion is the only true one, the only one by which man can be saved; and if any Government should try to deprive them of this religion, which is their most precious jewel and the richest inheritance that they have received from their superiors, although it may not be more

[1] Norman, *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, pp. 169f.

than permitting Protestant or heterodox propagandism publicly and boldly, then they could not help complaining, and disturbance of public order might even result from it, with all the fury and all the disasters which, it is well known, this kind of war usually entails.

"Two serious difficulties may oppose the rights of Catholicism in the Philippines. The first is the Americans who are now governing here, and the second is the Filipinos themselves. The Americans enjoy in America the most complete religious liberty. Why, then, should they not enjoy the same liberty on moving to the Philippines? We answer that each citizen should conform to the laws of the country where he lives. The Chinese enjoyed the most complete liberty to erect temples to Buddha or to Confucius; but for three centuries they have not had such liberty in Manila. On the other hand, no Chinese has been obliged to become a Catholic; and, we may say more, no Chinese has been obliged to make a show of his religion in order to trade, become rich and return to die in China. The same may be said of Englishmen and Americans. If, in the Philippines, for the good order and government of 6,500,000 Catholics, besides which there are only 1,500,000 inhabitants, idolaters and Mohammedans, who are still to be civilized, it is necessary not to permit or to encourage liberty of religions, the Government which rules the destinies of these islands should legislate in this direction, for the laws should be adapted to the necessities of the majority of the citizens. And Americans themselves who make their residence here should accommodate themselves to this law, without any temporal or spiritual injury resulting to them from it, because, privately, they could profess the religion which their conscience dictates to them to be the true one. The English in Malta do this, where the Catholic religion flourishes; and, although the island is very small, there are more than 2,000 Italian Catholic priests there, better satisfied and content to live under the English Government than under the Italian Government.

"The other difficulty against the Catholicism of the Filipinos arises from the Filipino rebels themselves, who in their congress at Malolos proclaimed liberty of religions and separation of Church and State. Why, then, should not this religious liberty be granted to the Filipinos if they themselves demand it? We answer that they also ask for independence. Will the Americans, therefore, give it to them? The majority of the Philippine insurgents were addicted to Masonry. They had agreed a long time ago to work for the expulsion of the friars, and drunken with the wine of liberty, they asked for all liberties, including religious freedom. These revolutionists, who have abjured Catholicism, how many are they? They do not exceed two dozen. For them the law of religious liberty is unnecessary, because they do not profess any. The Filipino people, that is to say, the 6,500,000 Catholics inscribed in the parochial registers—these do not ask for nor want religious liberty, nor the separation of the Church and State; these are content with their Catholicism, and they do not desire anything more, nor would they suffer their Government to overthrow the Catholic unity.

"This we have heard from qualified and accredited defenders of Philippine independence, who even deny that the Malolos platform was the true expression

of the will of that congress; that on the contrary it was far from being the total and proper representation of the Filipino people. This people have a horror of heresies and of all religious disturbances. Whoever should introduce them would commit an offence. Therefore it is demonstrated that religious liberty in the Philippines is not only not advisable but adverse to the public peace.

"In conclusion, if it be said that as regards the state of religion in the Philippines there are points of public interest which demand some reform, we shall not deny it; but the Church has the desire and the means to remedy these supposed or recognized evils. If by chance, she does not remedy them, because she is ignorant of them, then any one interested may make them known, and the Government of the country sooner than anybody else. On the other hand, this subject has nothing to do with religious liberty."[1]

On his visit to the Philippines in 1901, the Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D. D., met the same spirit and its unhesitating avowal. He reports an interview he had with a prominent Bishop in Manila:

"After a few introductory generalities had led up to the issue, the Bishop said: 'If you come to preach to Americans, I welcome you and wish you well. But the Indians are all Roman Catholics, and if you preach among them and try to wean them from the Church, we must combat you.'

"I replied that we could only reach those who were willing to be reached, that thus far the Indians had been coming to us, and that as some were evidently leaving the Roman Catholic Church it was simply better that they should become Protestants than that they should have no religion at all.

"He replied: 'This is a Catholic country. The Catholics formerly had everything in the Philippines, but now (and his tone and manner became more bitter) the Church has lost all.'

"I answered: 'The people of the United States are overwhelmingly Protestant in membership and sympathy, but they, nevertheless, give entire freedom to the Roman Catholic Church. Why should not Protestants be as free to preach in the Philippines as the Roman Catholics are to preach in America?'

"He brusquely said: 'Conditions are very different here.'

"I said that we did not desire to interfere with the liberty of any who preferred the Roman Catholic faith, that one of our cardinal principles was the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that our purpose was not merely to be in opposition, but to present the positive teachings of Christ.

"He sharply replied: 'Don't say that.' He then began to harangue on the divisions of Protestantism, closing by asking: 'How many classes of Protestants are there?'

"I replied: 'Less in the Philippines than there are Orders of the Roman Catholic Church, for while you have Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians,

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol., IV, pp. 110–112.

Recolletos, Jesuits, Capuchins and Benedictines, seven in all, besides secular priests and sisters, Protestants have six—Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, United Brethren, Episcopalians and Christians.'

"He answered: 'You are mistaken. Catholics all teach the same truths, so that there is no difference between an Augustinian convert and a Dominican convert. All are united under the same head. You have no head.'

"I did not deem it courteous to state that the mutual enmities of the Roman Catholic Orders were notoriously more bitter than the differences which we were now discussing in a fraternal spirit with our Baptist brethren. But I did say that so far as I could judge, the Protestant bodies in the Philippines were working together as harmoniously as the Roman Catholic Orders were, that while it was true that we had no earthly head, it was because we held that Christ alone should be head, that our ideal was a spiritual unity in Him, rather than an external unity in man, and that our divergencies were rather those of method and emphasis than of fundamental truth.

"He queried: 'While only Presbyterians are here now, how do I know how many more classes of Protestants will come and teach different things. With us the Dominicans take one province and the Augustinians another, except in Manila.'

"I then explained the Evangelical Union which had recently been formed in Manila and which was dividing the islands territorially between the Protestant Churches, just as the Orders had agreed upon a like division for themselves.

"The conversation then turned to the fortitude of the Christians in China, and he listened with interest and a softened expression as I described the heroic defence of Bishop Favier in Peking, and the bullet and shell holes I had seen in the walls and roof of the great Cathedral.

"In closing the interview, which was of considerable length, I said that I had not called to argue; that I, of course, recognized the differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants, that in view of the relation into which Americans had now come with the Philippines, we believed that it was our duty to come here and to preach the truth as we understood it, but that we wished to do so in the spirit of Christian courtesy and fairness. But he again said: 'Do not say that.' He plainly knew little of America and of American Protestantism, but he felt in a half-blind, instinctive, almost ferocious way, that American Protestantism was a kind of Satanic manifestation, which threatened the very existence of society and of the true Church, and that its missionaries were to be resisted as emissaries of moral anarchy and ruin. Of course, the interview accomplished nothing except to give me an opportunity to personally note the type of character and ability which leads the Roman Church in the Philippines and the position from which it will fight Protestantism. Everything was about what I had been led to expect. The really significant admission being: 'The Catholics formerly had everything in the Philippines, but now, the Church has lost all.' "[1]

[1] Brown, *Report of a Visitation of the Philippine Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 2d edit., pp. 96f. See also Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines*, Chs. XII, XIII, XIV.

The attitude which the American Government has taken is clearly set forth in the reports of the Taft Commission in its discussion of the problem of the friars, which it declares to be the real political problem of the islands :

"Those who are charged with the duty of pacifying these islands may, therefore, properly have the liveliest concern in a matter which, though on its surface only ecclesiastical, is, in the most important phase of it, political and fraught with the most critical consequences to the peace and good order of the country in which it is their duty to set up civil Government. We are convinced that a return of the friars to their parishes will lead to lawless violence and murder, and that the people will charge the course taken to the American Government, thus turning against it the resentment felt towards the friars. It is to be remembered that the Filipinos who are in sympathy with the American cause in these islands are as bitterly opposed to the friars as the most irreconcilable insurgents, and they look with the greatest anxiety to the course to be taken in the matter. It is suggested that the friars, if they returned, would uphold American sovereignty and be efficient instruments in securing peace and good order, whereas, the native priests who now fill the parishes are many of them active insurgent agents, or in strong sympathy with the cause. It is probably true that a considerable number of the Filipino priests are hostile to American sovereignty, largely because they fear the Catholic Church will deem it necessary on the restoration of complete peace to bring back the friars or to elevate the moral tone of the priesthood by introducing priests from America or elsewhere. But it is certain that the enmity among the people against the American Government caused by the return of the friars would far outweigh the advantage of efforts to secure and preserve the allegiance of the people to American sovereignty which might be made by priests who are still subjects of a monarchy with which the American Government has been lately at war, and who have not the slightest sympathy with the political principles of civil liberty which the American Government represents.

"We have set forth the facts upon this important issue, because we do not think they ought to be, or can be, ignored. We earnestly hope that those who control the policy of the Catholic Church in these islands with the same sagacity and provision which characterizes all its important policies, will see that it would be most unfortunate for the Philippine Islands, for the Catholic Church, and for the American Government to attempt to send back the friars, and that some other solution of the difficulties should be found. The question for the prelate and statesman, is not whether the bitter feeling towards the friars is justified or not, but whether it exists. It does not seem to us, therefore, to aid in reaching a conclusion to point out that all the civilization found in the Philippines is due to the friars. Be it so. Ought they on this account to return to their parishes in the face of a deep, popular feeling against them? A popular bias or prejudice, deep seated in ignorant people, is not to be disregarded because it cannot stand the test of reason or evidence. It must be reckoned with. It would, of course,

be of much assistance to the American cause if the Catholic Church were to send among the people American priests with the love of their country that they have always shown, and with their clear understanding of civil liberty and conservative popular Government; but it is said that such priests are not available for the work. This is a question of purely Church policy with which we have nothing to do. It is enough that the political question will be eliminated if the friars are not sent back.

"The friars have large property interests in these islands which the United States Government is bound by treaty obligations and by the law of its being to protect. It is natural and proper that the friars should feel a desire to remain where so much of their treasure is. Nearly all the immense agricultural holdings have been transferred by the three orders—by the Dominicans to a gentleman named Andrews, by the Recolletos to an English corporation, and by the Augustinians to another corporation; but these transfers do not seem to have been out and out sales, but only a means for managing the estates without direct intervention of the frairs, or for selling the same when a proper price can be secured. The friars seem to remain the real owners. It would avoid some very troublesome agrarian disturbances between the friars and their quondam tenants if the insular Government could buy these large haciendos of the friars and sell them out in small holdings to the present tenants, who, forgiven for the rent due during the two years of war, would recognize the title of the Government without demur, and gladly accept an opportunity, by payment of the price in small installments, to become absolute owners of what they and their ancestors have so long cultivated. With the many other calls upon the insular treasury, a large financial operation like this would probably not be conducted to a successful issue without the aid of the United States Government, either by a direct loan or by a guaranty of bonds to be issued for the purpose. The bonds or loan could be met gradually from the revenue of the islands, while the proceeds of the land, which would sell readily, could be used to constitute a school fund. This object, if declared, would make the plan most popular, because the desire for education by the Filipinos of all tribes is very strong and gives encouraging promise of the future mental development of a now uneducated and ignorant people.

"The provincials of the orders were understood in their evidence to intimate a willingness on the part of the orders to sell their agricultural holdings if a satisfactory price should be paid. What such a price would be we are unable, without further investigation, to state. If an agreement could not be reached, it is probable, though upon this we wish to express no definite opinion, that there would be ground in the circumstances for a resort to condemnation proceedings.

"As the Church is and ought to continue a prominent factor in the life, peace, and contentment and progress of the Philippine people, it would seem the wisest course, wherever it is possible, to do so without infringing upon the principle that Church and State must be kept separate, to frame civil laws which shall accord with views conscientiously entertained by Catholics—priests and laymen—and which shall not deal unfairly with a people of a different faith. It would seem

clear that any Government organized under the sovereignty of the United States cannot devote public money to the teaching of any particular religion. It has been suggested, however, that in any system of public education organized in these islands, it would be proper to afford to every religious denomination the right to send religious instructors to the public schools to instruct the children of parents who desire it in religion several times a week, at times when such instruction shall not interfere with the regular curriculum. That is what is understood to be the Faribault plan. It is not certain that this would meet completely the views of the Catholic hierarchy, but it is likely that it would avoid that active hostility to a public school system which might be a formidable obstacle in spreading education among these Catholic people. The Commission has reached no definite conclusion upon the matter, but only states the question as one calling for solution in the not far distant future." [1]

This is surely only a wise and just political attitude. If fully carried out, Protestants should not complain. The difficulty is to preserve exact justice in a matter where the administration that would walk justly must maintain so delicate a balance. In the early days of American sovereignty no such impression of impartiality was produced. Mr. Dean relates in *The Cross of Christ in Bolo-Land* what the disposition of the military Government was believed by the people to be:

"There is no harm now in saying that the American military Government was, at the time of Mr. Rodger's arrival, none too cordial towards the idea of Protestant missions. The general in command assumed that to start a religious controversy in addition to the troubles already on hand would array the natives even more bitterly against American supremacy. Believing that the Catholic Church was the strength of the insurrection and its chief support derived from the encouragement of the native padres, it was the policy of the military Government for a period at least, to reassure and conciliate the Church in all honourable ways. It was this purpose which led General Otis to send his own launch out into the bay to meet the transport upon which Archbishop Chappelle, the accredited agent of the Pope, arrived. This act of courtesy was widely discussed among the natives, and was misunderstood by them to mean that the American Government was in sympathy with the hated friars, whom they were clamouring to be rid of. This erroneous impression was strengthened by the appearance of General Otis at the reception given the Archbishop by the Spanish and Filipino clergy. As he had refused all social functions for some weeks, his presence was given the more significance. These two incidents of the launch and the reception would

[1] *Report of the Taft Commission, Senate Document 112, Fifty-sixth Congress, second Session*, pp. 31–33.

not be worth the chronicling were it not for the importance given them by the native mind. Even some Americans thought themselves compelled to seek the reason for the over-friendly attitude maintained by the military governor towards the Catholic Church in his own conversion of Rome. There appears to be no foundation for such an opinion other than the appearance of the name of Col. E. S. Otis in the list of 'Prominent Converts to Catholicism,' in the appendix of the fifth edition of *Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared.* Certain it is that for political or other reasons, Mr. Rodgers was little more than tolerated in Manila when he first arrived. No governor-general's launch took him in honour from the ship to shore, and it is safe to say that an indiscretion on his part would have resulted in his deportation and a serious postponement of missionary activity. By his unfailing tact, he was able to open services and awaken a decided interest among the natives without giving the authorities an excuse for interference." [1]

It was too much to expect that General Otis should treat an unknown Protestant missionary as he treated a well-known Catholic Archbishop. But it was not too much to expect that Protestantism should not be snubbed and its entrance as a missionary force discountenanced, as was improperly done. And even since civil Government has been established, the general attitude of the Commission, if it has not encouraged Catholicism, as assuredly it has not intentionally done by any political partiality, has yet fostered the notion that the Protestant Churches are inconsequential and religion not an essential part of American life. In a sermon preached at Manila on December 21, 1902, by the Rev. George F. Pentecost, D.D., LL.D., the preacher referred boldly to this fact:

"In a recent Thanksgiving sermon preached from this platform, I ventured to call attention to the regrettable fact that no American member of the Civil Commission for the Government of these Islands participated in the public worship of God on the Lord's Day, and that the sanctity of the Lord's Day was habitually invaded and desecrated by the needless transaction of public business; and that this public and official example was being followed by the more prominent Americans in Manila; and that it was the common belief that there was some implicit policy on the part of the Government to discourage the worship of God in Protestant Christian Churches in this city and throughout these Islands. I am more than happy to say that the Governor assures me that there is no such policy either explicit or implicit on the part of the Insular Government, but only that the unanimous non-churchgoing habit of high Government officials is a pure coincidence, arising from the fact that the American members of the Commission are all non-

[1] *The Cross of Christ in Bolo-Land*, pp. 49, 50.

churchgoing men. We, Protestants, do not in any sense assume to compel our public men to be Christians, but we do feel that it is within our province to criticise such a unanimous non-religious habit on the part of officials. If this is their attitude towards religion and the public recognition of God it is not a matter of wonder that almost the entire American community in Manila follow their example and that, while we find the public race-courses and the fields of sport crowded, the social clubs of the city in full blast, public business in full swing on the Sabbath-day, the houses of worship are practically empty and the worship of God under whose blessing we have become so great a people almost totally abandoned. Such habits, especially, in official circles are utterly inconsistent with the declaration of our honoured Governor quoted in another place, namely, that 'the founders of our Government were profoundly convinced that religion must be upheld for the benefit of the state and that it was the basis for the morality of the citizen.' If this is a true statement of the 'profound conviction of the founders of the Government,' I hope I will not be deemed impertinent if I ask our present rulers if they are honestly seeking to give this profound conviction, forceful and objective expression. And I venture, in closing the discussion of this point, to say that the unanimous habit of ignoring the public worship of God on the part of our civil rulers and high officials is not according to best American ideals; it is poor religion; it is bad morality; and worse politics. Such an attitude towards religion in our national home Government would not be condoned by the American people during a second term; and the time is not distant when it will not be condoned here. Protestants do not ask either for Government patronage or support, but they do demand in the name of religion that the best traditions of the country be not persistently violated by the highest officials of the land."[1]

This raises, however, a new question about which something needs to be said. As to religious liberty it remains only to be added that there is no reason to fear that, under American rule in the Philippines, there will not be ultimately, in spite of the position and influence of the Catholic Church adverse to toleration, the same freedom of religion and of religious propagandism that there is in the United States. The position which the Commission will maintain was set forth in Governor Taft's letter to Pope Leo XIII:

"I do not need to assure your holiness that the attitude of the United States and the Philippine Government is not one of unfriendliness to the Roman Catholic Church. The policy of separating Church from State, as required in the Constitution of the United States, does not indicate hostility to religion or the maintenance of any church. On the contrary, the founders of our Government were profoundly convinced that religion must be upheld for the benefit of the

[1] Dr. Pentecost's Sermon, *Protestantism in the Philippines; its Relation to the State, to the Roman Catholic Church, and to the People*, Manila, 1903, pp. 17f.

State, and that it was the basis for the morality of the citizen; and in practice it will be found that in the United States the rights of all churches, both as to property, administration and practice of religion, are preserved even with more scrupulous care than in some countries where Church and State are said to be united. I venture to point to the prosperity of the Roman Catholic Church in America as indicating that it has nothing to fear from the extension of the same rule over the Philippine Islands. The Government of the United States treats all churches and creeds alike. It protects them all, but favours no one against the other. It is not engaged in proselyting from one church or creed to another, and any office using his office directly or indirectly for such a purpose, ought to forfeit his office."[1]

This is good American doctrine, but two things need to be said to bring out all the truth of it. (1) In the first place, Governor Taft did not say that officials should not exert a religious influence. He emphatically asserted that "the founders of our Government were profoundly convinced that religion must be upheld for the benefit of the State." What the religion is that underlies our institutions, the United States Supreme Court has declared. It is Christianity. No official misuses his office who acts in it as a Christian and who does so avowedly. The American official who acts otherwise, who is immoral or dissolute in his life, who is atheistic or irreligious, acts treasonably, not in a political sense, perhaps, but with a faithlessness to the spirit of the land and to its traditions and institutions.[2] Let as much be said against sectarianism as men wish to say. Both Catholics and Protestants believe in God and in Jesus Christ His Son, in the Bible and the life which it describes, and no palaver about the necessity of being impartial and, in the matter of sectarianism, neutral, can absolve American representatives in the Philippines from

[1] Dr. Pentecost's Sermon, *Protestantism in the Philippines; its Relation to the State, to the Roman Catholic Church, and to the People*, Manila, 1903, preface.

[2] "Like all visitors to the islands, he finds the Filipinos to be devoted to the Catholic faith, and with 'a very vague idea of how the American stands with regard to religion,' of which he gives this incident as an illustration:

"'It was the custom of the officers of the garrison of a certain town to sit at the windows of their quarters on Sunday mornings and watch the natives on their way to church, always an interesting sight, as everybody, from the Presidente to the poorest *trabajero*, attended with their wives, dressed for the occasion.

"'One Sunday it was noticed that the Vice-Presidente, who had taken the oath of allegiance the day before, escorted his family as far as the church door and then returned home. When questioned next day by one of the officers as to the reason for his not attending mass, he replied: "I am an American now, and the Americans do not have to go to church"'" (*The Sun*, August 7, 1902, editorial, "A Soldier on the Friars," quoting from article in *United Service Review*, by Roland Fortescue, of the Fourth Cavalry of our Army).

their duty of godly living and Christian influence. Dr. Pentecost set this before the people of Manila in the Thanksgiving sermon to which he refers and which Governor Taft came to hear:

"The American citizen in such a land as this under the conditions which brought him here, who ceases to represent in himself the high ideals of our American traditions, not only can do no good to the people among whom he dwells, but becomes their worst enemy. Even the man who maintains an outwardly decent life but who has ceased to cherish and reverence the principles which underlie the moral greatness of our national life can do no good to the people. The American who says, as one said the other day: 'I did not come to Manila to help elevate the Filipino, but to make all the money I can out of him and his country while the opportunity lasts. I don't take any stock in America's philanthropic mission,' is an apostate American citizen and potentially a traitor to his country. I grieve to say that the signs of such apostasy from high American ideals are too patent in the American community in Manila, among those who have not so bluntly expressed themselves as did the American above referred to. The signs of this apostasy and moral deterioration are seen in the abandonment of the churchgoing habit. It is not the practice of all or even nearly all Americans in the home-land regularly to go to the house of God on the Sabbath day; nevertheless the public worship of God, or churchgoing is a part and a large factor and I may say a saving factor in American life. Now there are less than, or at least not more than three hundred regular attendants upon the worship of God in the American churches in the city. Soon after I came here, I asked a lady as to the churchgoing habits of the Americans in Manila. Her reply was as witty as it was sad and significant: 'Dr. Pentecost, churchgoing in Manila is a thing that is not done by good society.' I am told by the American ministers in this city that it is an unheard of thing for the more prominent people of Manila to be seen in the American churches. If this be the settled habit of those in high places, it is not surprising that their lead is eagerly followed by those in subordinate positions in so-called society. In these circumstances, is it any wonder that the friars and the priests of the old Spanish Church tell their people that the Americans are all infidels? If the Americans in these islands think for a moment that such a policy will make for the success of America in the Philippines or for the good of the people, I warn them that they are departing from the best American precedents and to use a phrase with which some of them are familiar, 'riding for a fall' and a very bad fall. . . . This apostasy of life out here is seen in the prevalence of three common vices openly indulged in, and in some cases apologized for. I refer to the trinity of vices which do more to break down character and destroy and debase human nature than any other known vices of our lower nature, namely, drunkenness, gambling and licentiousness. To these three vices, it is commonly reported, a large number of our younger men and not a few of the older ones are addicted. I do not say that these vices are not common at home, but I do say that they are only indulged in

by those who have abandoned all high ideals of life. I am proud to say of my country, that at home, at least, the drunkard, the gambler and the libertine are tabooed of all decent people. I have seen drunken men at home, and have been sorry and ashamed; when I have seen an American soldier drunk in the streets of Manila or reeling out of one of the numerous saloons in the town, in full sight of and before the amazed eyes of the natives, I have felt ashamed and humiliated; but when I have seen with my own eyes, officers of the American army in their beautiful white uniforms and in the presence of the most distinguished people of the land, American and native, maudlin and swaggering drunk—then as an American citizen, I have felt myself to have been humiliated and disgraced and my country betrayed and dishonoured. I do not say that this condition of things is characteristic of the whole American community, but that it goes on tolerated and unrebuked by that 'best society' which deems it infradig. to be found in the House of God on the Lord's Day.

"In a foreign land where war has come with all its train of vice and where all the incentives to the worst passions of human nature are awakened, we do not expect to see the best social, civic and religious virtues in the most active exercise, but it is in just such conditions and circumstances that we do expect to see every best and truest American exercising and throwing all his influence upon the side of religion, morality and high Americanism. . . ."[1]

(2) And just as all American representatives ought to be and to act in office as Christians without concealment, so in all incidental and unofficial ways, they should be free and under duty to do all they can for the enlightenment of the people and their uplifting. The lesson that the Indian Mutiny taught England, we ought to learn without any bitter experience to teach it to us. British representatives in India are free to exert their influence as they desire in all unofficial ways to bring the people of India to Christ. American representatives in the Philippines should be equally free and no pressure of official disapproval or of social ostracism should be exerted to make them unfaithful in a duty they owe to God and not to God only, but to the largest political interests of America and of the Philippine people.[2]

[1] Reported in the Manila *Cablenews*, December 5, 1902.

[2] "1. The governor and his associates on the commission make every effort to be impartial and just in all their dealings with religious bodies. The commission indicates a desire to foster any work that has the welfare of the people in view. I have no doubt at all that the commission has at times been overcautious in handling questions in which Roman Catholic matters were involved. But, on the whole, it has threaded its way along a difficult and intricate path with fairness and commendable wisdom.

"2. As to the attitude of Government officials. The fact—and a deplorable

The educational problem in the Philippines is an indication of the immense blessings which American rule is bringing, in comparison with Spanish misrule and its toleration of ignorance. It is an illustration also of the difficulty of the religious problem. What the educational condition was under Spain and the Catholic Church has already been indicated. In 1901, a thousand American school-teachers were brought to the islands and sent to 500 of the 900 towns of the archipelago. Twenty-five hundred Philippine teachers were employed. Normal and manual training schools have been organized and more done in two years to improve and perfect the system of education than Spain and Rome have done in a century. And the commission has contemplated the desirability of passing "a compulsory education law when the school system shall be sufficiently enlarged to offer to all children of school age due opportunity for education."[1] These schools will teach what the American people believe to be true as to history and politics and morality. What will be their attitude towards religion? The Philippine commission

fact it is—is that the majority of Government officials, great and small, are not regular churchgoers. The temptation is to impute evil motives; but I do not think we have any more right to guess at motives as to why men stay away from church than we would have to guess at those which lead them to church. So contemptible a thing would it be for a man to suppress his convictions and his duty to God for the sake of the applause of the majority, or to gain some petty advantage in temporal government, that any one guilty of it, *ipso facto*, would be disqualified for holding the reins of authority. Many of our warmest supporters are of the families of men high in office, and this has always been so from the inception of our work, long before I arrived on the scene. Naturally, I wish that more of our public men, men of mind, character, and influence, were prominent also in church matters; but I would deprecate their becoming so because it was politic, respectful, useful for temporal ends, almost as much as I would resent their abstention on similar grounds. The real drawback to mission work here is the same that exists elsewhere—the indifference and wickedness of nominal Christians. If we are to criticise those who happen to hold office for being non-religious and irreligious, it should not be *qua* officials, but as belonging to that class, which is large in Manila, who are so absorbed in the affairs of this world that they give no thought to the deep things of God.

"3. I am conversant with the case—the freedom of a school-teacher. Shortly after he arrived here he was asked to speak at a Sunday evening meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association. Months later the Evangelical Union invited him to give an address on 'our work.' He assented. The commissioner of education led him to understand that he would displease the authorities if he did not cancel his engagement. Such action was unjustifiable, but it was the action of an individual commissioner and not of the commission" (Bishop Brent in *The Outlook*, quoted in *The Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1903, p. 861).

[1] Taft, Article, "Civil Government in the Philippines," *The Outlook*, May 31, 1902.

answers this question: "The attitude which the schools should assume towards the teaching of religion was fixed by the adoption of the so-called Faribault plan. This was set forth in section sixteen, in the following language:

"'No teacher or other person shall teach or criticise the doctrines of any church, religious sect or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school established under this act. If any teacher shall intentionally violate this section, he or she shall, after due hearing, be dismissed from public service.

"'Provided, however, that it shall be lawful for the priest or minister of any church established in the pueblo where a public school is situated, either in person or by a designated teacher of religion, to teach religion for one-half hour three times a week in the school buildings to those public school pupils whose parents or guardians desire it and express their desire therefore in writing filed with the principal teacher of the school, to be forwarded to the division superintendent, who shall fix the hour and rooms for such teaching. But no public school-teacher shall either conduct religious services or teach religion, or act as a designated religious teacher in the school building under the foregoing authority, and no pupil shall be required by any public school-teacher to attend and receive religious instructions herein permitted. Should the opportunity thus given to teach religion be used by the priest, minister or religious teacher for the purpose of arousing disloyalty to the United States, or of discouraging the attendance of pupils at such public school, of creating a disturbance of public order, or of interfering with the discipline of the school, the division superintendent, subject to the approval of the general superintendent of public instruction, may, after due investigation and hearing, forbid such offending priest, minister or religious teacher from entering the public school building thereafter.'"[1]

In this report just quoted, the commission adds: "Down to the present time, no priest or other religious teacher has asked for the use of any schoolhouse for the purpose of teaching religion in accordance with the terms of this section."[2] Probably, this is as wise an arrangement as could be made. The American schools in the Philippines will not rise much above the level of the American schools at home. They will rise just so far above as the motive which takes American teachers to the Philippines may be a more religious motive than influences teachers at home. In the schools, as out of them, the State may not teach what is sectarian, but I believe the State should teach those great and common religious truths which are held

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, December, 1900, to October, 1901*, Part I, p. 134.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

by all bodies of Christians and which underlie our civilization. The State should do this at home. It should do it in the Philippines. We are there, as Lawrence said of England in India, not by our own will, or the will of the people of the Philippines, but by the will of God. It is easy to sneer at this view, but the will of God has kept us there in spite of the sneers and will keep us there until our work is done. But God has laid those islands upon us to be taught, to be educated, to be purified, and we are chargeable for this not to them or to atheists at home, but to God. And God should be in our schools there and never be shut out from them.[1]

The presence of a Christian Government in the Philippines with its immense educational and philanthropic agencies relieves the missionary enterprise of much that it has to provide in other lands. This is a great gain. Whether it will be offset by too much loss depends on whether the influence of American character is for or against pure Christianity; whether the infidels, the brewers, the brothel-keepers, the gamblers, the irreligious, the secular will outweigh the devout, the upright, the industrious, the honest, the unselfish. Time will show. But the responsibility for what time will show, is with us. Our relation to the Philippines is a distinctly missionary relationship. The Church should pour into these islands men and women who will give themselves to that Protestant effort without which there is no hope even of inner reform in the Catholic Church; but also there should go out streams of young men, not missionaries, who, in whatever trade or profession, will regard themselves as the representatives of Christ and honour Him and promote His cause.

Would that there were as bright hope that this higher duty would be discharged as there is that our political and economic duty will be faithfully done. We found the people ignorant. We are teaching them. They will be in time as well educated as any people in Asia, an English speaking people at the gates of the East. We found the islands undeveloped and without roads. The first act passed by the Taft Commission appropriated $1,000,000 for the construction and improvement of roads. The islands had been farmed for the benefit of Spain, paying at one time to the Spanish Government an annual tribute amounting to about five

[1] Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines*, Ch. XXIV.

shillings for each member of the population. In the middle of the last century, Sir John Bowring reported that about half of the whole amount of direct taxation went to Spain, independently of what Spanish subjects received who were employed in the public service.[1] The United States will spend every dollar earned by the islands on the islands themselves and give help in addition. Under Spain, the Governor-General and the Church ruled the land. Now, local Government has been instituted in 765 towns, each constituting a municipality with a president, vice-president and council chosen for two years by qualified electors. The number of school-teachers has doubled since Spain's day and the quality completely changed, while already 150,000 children are enrolled in the schools and 10,000 adult natives are learning English. The annual average value of imports and exports for the years 1883–1890 was $34,616,680. In 1900 it was $47,854,000, and in 1901, $54,665,000, and in 1902, $62,014,070.

This is the good side. There is of course the evil,—the liquor, the immorality, the extravagance, the harsh arbitrariness which curses so much of the non-Christian intercourse of the West with the East. But much of this is temporary and the rest is part of the weight which the better West must carry until it can slough it off and trample on it. So long as we have it at home, it will be with us abroad. Its presence is an added reason for the emancipation from all foolish restraint of those Christian men whose example and influence are needed to offset and overcome the evil effects of Western vileness. It is intolerable that an American military officer should be free to reel in drunkenness through the streets of Manila when not on duty without court-martial, but that an American school-teacher should not be free to teach a Sunday-school class out of school hours, without suffering the disapproval of his superiors, and in some cases running the risk of dismission. Surely it may be hoped that all American citizens and the total American influence in the Philippines will conform to the ideals set forth in General Merritt's orders before the capture of Manila:

"In view of the extraordinary conditions under which this army is operating, the commanding general desires to acquaint the officers and men with the expectations he entertains as to their conduct.

[1] Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Isles*, p. 324.

"You are assembled on foreign soil, situated within the western confines of a vast ocean, separating you from your native land. You have not come as despoilers or oppressors, but simply as the instrument of a strong, free Government, whose purposes are beneficent, and which declared itself in this war champion of those oppressed by Spanish misrule.

"It is therefore the intention of this order to appeal directly to your pride in your position as representatives of a high civilization, in the hope and with the firm conviction that you will so conduct yourself in your relation with the inhabitants of these islands as to convince them of the lofty nature of the mission you have come to execute." [1]

Two minor problems of significance to missions confront the Government in the Philippines, and they are closely associated—the problem of the Chinese and of opium. Some hold that the only way to develop the islands is to import Chinese labour, as the Philippine people will not do the work that must be done. The Filipinos do not want them as they cannot endure Chinese competition, but practically all the American and European business men in the islands assert that there is no hope for the islands without them. Some outside of both these parties argue against the admission of the Chinese on the ground that they will stifle the growth of the Filipinos, that the islands are to be held and governed by the United States as a trust for the Filipinos, and that these people are to be educated under American influence until they can stand competition and that meanwhile, their country is to be kept for them, no matter how long the educational process may require. The first Philippine Commission expressed a balanced judgment:

"In the regions inhabited by the civilized natives sentiment towards the Chinese varies considerably in different provinces and islands. Where it is strongly hostile, the Commission feels that we are bound to take it into serious consideration. And we further believe that the inhabitants of all parts of the archipelago should be saved from the necessity of being forced to compete with Chinese labour under conditions such that they cannot hope to compete with success, always provided that the legitimate economic development of the country is not thereby retarded.

"On the other hand, we feel that Chinese labour might be very advantageously used in those portions of the archipelago where, from

[1] Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 336.

the character of the inhabitants and their disposition to engage in manual toil, or from the absence of inhabitants, and the well-known disinclination of the civilized native to leave his home and settle in a new region, it would not come into competition with the labour of the country.

"We therefore commend to your careful consideration the question as to how, where, and for what purpose the Chinese should be allowed to enter the Archipelago." [1]

There are now about 100,000 Chinese in the islands, 60,000 of them in Manila. Whether more come or this present number decreases, these people offer in the Philippines as in America a peculiarly needy and inviting field for missionary work. From California and Australia streams of Christian influence and financial contributions have flowed from the Christian Chinese into Kwang-Tung Province in South China. Manila should be a similar fountain.[2]

It will not be if opium does its work among the Chinese. The Spanish Government sold the right to import opium. It received from the contract for the sale in 1896–97, 576,000 pesos. It received the same year from lotteries 1,000,000 pesos. Regarding these two items of revenue, the Taft Commission said in its first report: "It seems impracticable to resume the second of these receipts. Opium, however, is a very legitimate and lucrative subject of taxation. Any repressive effect which a heavy tax on opium may have on its consumption is a clear gain to the well-being of the community, which will more than offset the loss of revenue. Prohibition of use can hardly be enforced, and in view of the fact, that a high duty would lead to extensive smuggling, some other form of a tax must be devised to make opium return its proper contribution to the revenue." [3]

Now, the opium curse is probably the worst curse in the world. Whoever uses it regularly, the doctors in China testify, becomes a slave to it. And its effects are deadly. "I have been engaged in the practice of medicine among the people of China during the past thirteen years," says Dr. Beebe of Nanking, "and have seen evil, and nothing but evil, coming to this people and nation through the

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, Vol. I, p. 159.
[2] Brown, *The New Era in the Philippines*, Ch. VIII.
[3] *Report of the Taft Philippine Commission, Senate Document No. 112, Fifty-sixth Congress, Second Session*, p. 104.

opium habit. It brings the most misery to the poorer classes. It is not uncommon for a labourer to spend from one-third to two-thirds of his daily wage for opium. Can any say that such a state of affairs is not particularly harmful? My nearest neighbour for some time was an opium-smoking coolie. One by one he sold his three children to gratify his habit. At last he sold his wife, quit his desolate house of reeds, and wandered a vagabond and thief to prey on the body politic. Go among the people and ask for their opinion of the habit and you will not only find a universal verdict of condemnation but you will come back heart-sick and discouraged by the ever-repeated story of sorrow and wrong, fully persuaded that the opium habit is a monstrous evil, powerful in its harm to the individual and to the state." [1]

In the Chinese army the rule is that if any soldier is found to be an opium smoker, he is at once dismissed. The Chinese Government and people are firmly convinced that the opium habit is the curse of the land and they loathe it and the history that has fastened it upon them. Why should it be tolerated in the Philippines? "Because," it is said, "it cannot be prohibited"? It is enough to reply that Japan has prohibited it and that what Japan has done America can do in the Philippines. The opium habit once spread in the Philippines would mean moral ruin and decay. Doubtless a heavy tax would limit it, but Japan has done better.

The acquisition of the Philippines brought nearly three hundred thousand Mohammedans under the American flag. And the Mohammedans brought their polygamy and slavery with them and by treaty were allowed to retain their institutions. Article Third of the treaty with the Sultan of Sulu declared, "The Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion. All their religious customs shall be respected." And Article Ten says, "Any slave in the archipelago of Sulu shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value."[2]

The course pursued by the Commission in the matter of slavery would seem to be the only wise course.

"We learned," says the Commission, of interviews with Sulu chiefs, "that slavery is widespread among the Moros, but at the present time exists in an ex-

[1] *Use of Opium in China*, pp. 75f.
[2] *Senate Document 136, Fifty-sixth Congress, First Session*, p. 28.

tremely mild form. The old slave-hunting expeditions have nearly ceased. The Moro datos claim that they no longer occur at all, but it is known that this statement is not strictly true, as the Moros of Mindanao still occasionally capture members of wild tribes in the interior of the island. The Filipinos formerly held as slaves have practically all been liberated by our troops, although it is possible that a few may still remain in bondage in the Lake Lanao region. Slaves who desire their freedom and who seek protection at any military garrison receive it.

"The large majority of slaves held to-day have sold themselves for debt or are the children of those who have sold themselves, the obligations of parents being inherited by their offspring. A slave may secure his liberty by paying to his owner an amount equal to the price paid for him, but should he sell himself for a certain sum and should his master afterwards be able to sell him for a larger one, he must repay the latter amount. In the majority of cases, slaves are treated kindly, and they are frequently allowed time and opportunity to earn money, so that it is possible for them to redeem themselves if they desire to do so. The casual observer finds it impossible to distinguish them from members of the family to which they belong. Military officers everywhere expressed the opinion that Moro slaves were, on the whole, so well satisfied with their lot that if they were all set free, the majority of them would promptly return to their old masters and voluntarily take up their old life again. This statement is not advanced as a defense of the system of slavery which prevails among the Moros, but rather as an illustration of the difficulties to be encountered in abolishing it.

"An attempt at the present time to use force in securing the liberty of Moro slaves would inevitably provoke a fierce conflict with a brave and warlike people, and, so far as the slaves themselves are concerned, would meet with little appreciation. If, on the other hand, the refusal on the part of the Government to recognize slavery is persisted in, and the taking or acquiring of new slaves is prevented, the question will settle itself in a generation without bloodshed or the bitterness necessarily engendered by an armed strife."[1]

The missionary duty of a Christian State to end slavery and polygamy among heathen people absorbed by such a state will be discharged by the American Government, and religious liberty for our Mohammedan wards will be guaranteed. Why should this not be seized as an opportunity by American Christians to convert a large body of Moslems to the Christian faith? They are not Moslems who would exert any measure of influence upon the great Mohammedan world, but it would be something to break off this most Eastern of all the outposts of Islam.

When it became evident that the Philippine Islands were to pass

[1] *Report of the Philippine Commission, December, 1900, to October, 1901*, Part I, p. 37.

under our flag and their long sealed doors to open to evangelical Christianity, it was felt by the American missionary organizations that there should be some understanding with reference to the occupation of the islands that would prevent duplication and waste and the appearance of rivalry between different denominations and that would secure also as speedy and effective an occupation of the whole field as possible. Conferences at home were held to secure this end and in Manila the first missionaries organized, in 1901, "The Evangelical Union," whose object it was "to unite all the evangelical forces in the Philippine Islands for the purpose of securing comity and effectiveness in their missionary operations."

The same meeting in Manila adopted these resolutions:

"WHEREAS, the evangelization of these people will be more speedily accomplished by a division of the territory, thus avoiding waste of labour, time and money arising from the occupation of the same districts by more than one society which has marred the work in the other and older fields, Therefore:

"*Be it Resolved*, that each mission now represented on the field accept the responsibility for the evangelization of certain well-defined areas, to be mutually agreed upon, such agreement to be open to revision at the end of three years by the Evangelical Union at its regular meeting."

In accordance with these resolutions, there have been assignments of islands and provinces to various Protestant agencies. The conditions are new as yet and there will doubtless be many readjustments but since it has seemed impossible to establish but one Protestant Church for all the islands, all our American Protestant missions uniting in it, a plan which surely would have been the best conceivable, if only it had been practicable, it has been a distinct gain to have some understanding, even if it disappointingly proves to have been only temporary, as to territorial division of the field.

Already, the Filipinos have responded to the preaching of a purer Christianity. Indeed, there have been times when it was to be feared some Filipino parties would adopt Protestantism as a sort of political religion. Such favourable opportunities for presenting its real character were at once accepted by the missionaries, but they have escaped from any entanglements which would blur the distinctly spiritual character of the mission. The new churches have been kept what they should be and have grown steadily in numbers and influence. Movements within the Catholic Church or

reformed Catholic movements detached from the Church have already accomplished much, and it is to be hoped that the normal development of the islands will see the purification and spiritualization of the Catholic Church that will remain in them and the solid establishment of the Protestant Church in every community of the country. How hopeful the general movement is may be learned from an appeal issued by the Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands in January, 1904:

"We the members of the Evangelical Union, representing all the evangelical missions working in the islands, save one, feel called at the close of this our third annual meeting, to present the following memorial to our several constituencies. The reports of progress and conditions throughout the Archipelago bid us call as never before for more prayer, more workers and greatly increased gifts for the work of God in these islands.

"After five years of missionary occupation, we are convinced that it would be difficult to overestimate the vastness of the opportunities which are presented to the Church of Christ to win souls among the Filipino people. Within this brief period the visible results of our labours exceed those attained in other fields after fifty or even seventy years of missionary occupation. When America came to the islands, thousands were already separated from the Roman Catholic Church, and now the Aglipay movement is breaking the yoke from millions more, thus opening wider still the doors. At least one third of the seven millions of the Filipino people are severed from the Roman Catholic Church. They are spiritually restless and are searching for spiritual streams whence their thirst may be quenched. Their eagerness to hear is pathetic. Their readiness to hear and accept a pure gospel is astonishing and gratifying. The fields are more than white, they are dead ripe.

"As a nation we are labouring and spending men and money in our efforts to provide the Filipino people with the proper administration of justice, a good education, and honest Government. Hundreds of thousands are spent yearly in the sanitary regeneration of the islands. We believe that in order to confirm and consolidate the good results of all these efforts we must strain every nerve to give this people that Christian character which is born of the gospel and is necessary for the growth of their nation. This work is essential to the success of our nation's plans and promises to the Filipino people.

"And furthermore, if American influence is to go out over all the Orient, there must be in these islands, through which it will be exercised a strong positive Christian sentiment that will send our country's message on its way to the nations of Asia in all its truth and power. The creation and conservation of this sentiment must be the duty of the Christian Churches.

"In so far, therefore, as we fail to realize and fulfill our responsibilities, will the mission of America in the Orient be a failure.

"All the Churches and Societies represented in this Union, the Presbyterian, the Methodist Episcopal, the Baptist, the Disciples, the United Brethren, and the Congregational, together with the American Bible Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, declare it as our solemn opinion and conviction that with prompt and generous support a million of these souls can be led to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ within the next generation. We feel constrained to cry out for immediate reinforcements, and for more liberal support. The next few years are to definitely fix the religious status of the Filipino people and within the next decade, with liberal support we can accomplish that which will be impossible to accomplish in a century if we neglect the wide open door that God has set for us."

The acquisition of the Philippines has profoundly affected America. Probably the consequence of this act in America will be far more significant for the world than in the Philippines themselves. There it will be the redemption of 8,000,000 people; but here the permanent alteration of the opinion and destiny of 80,000,000 now and of hundreds of millions in years to come. The Spanish-American war, small as it was in itself and its immediate physical results was immense in its reflex consequences.

It has greatly increased our commerce. In the year ending June 30, 1903, our business with our non-contiguous territory already amounted to $100,000,000 and this is but the beginning. We stand now at the head of all the nations of the world in the volume of domestic exports. In 1870, we stood in the fourth place with exports of $379,000,000; in 1880 in the second place with $824,000,000; in 1890 in the second place with $845,000,000. In 1902 we were first with $1,392,087,672, as compared with Great Britain, $1,379 000,000; Germany, $1,113,000,000; France, $818,000,000; Netherlands, $696,000,000, and India $408,000,000. This growth was not due to the war but the war helped to promote it.

It completed the ruin of Spain and pricked the bubbles of its empty boastfulness. It broke the crust of American political ideals and national relations and flung the country out into a new life. We stand in consequence in new responsibilities to the world, responsibilities which are distinctly missionary in their character. In a sense, the war left us in a worse situation to discharge such responsibilities. All Spanish America felt a dislike for us. Spanish sympathy in South America was stronger than the traditions of liberty and than the dilution of republican spirit existing to the south of us. We are

now more feared also because the American republics think that we may clean up their iniquities next.[1] Europe also distrusts our disinterestedness. "It is indeed true," says Professor Reinsch, "that, in the eyes of European nations, the fair fame of the American Republic has suffered in consequence of the results of the late war. Not accustomed to grant the validity of purely humanitarian and altruistic motives in guiding their own political action, they set down to the account of pure hypocrisy the professions made by America before the war, and believe, or affect to believe, that those professions were constantly calculated to veil a masterful desire for territorial expansion. It will probably never be possible to make European nations understand the real complexity of motives that led the American nation into war with Spain. Especially will it be difficult for them to realize how large a part real sympathy with the sufferings of a neighbouring population, and impatience engendered by daily reports of unceasing warfare and unrelieved misery, played in bringing about the war. Any representations tending to give probability to the importance of these factors are likely to be discountenanced in consideration of the events that have followed the war. It is only by strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the declarations made when entering upon the war that the United States can redeem her reputation for honesty and a straightforward policy. For this reason, no effort should be spared to allow the populations of Cuba and the Philippine Islands the greatest measure of independence consonant with the general peace of the world and the security of life and property within those islands."[2]

At the same time, Europe respects us far more, understanding now something of the irresistible and overshadowing power of the American nation, just beginning its history and the development of its capacities and resources when some of the European States are realizing that they are near the end of theirs. And a new wonder has grown up at the power of the nation in directions where once it was little regarded. As Mr. Arnold White says, contrasting the inefficiency of the British Foreign Office with the skill and success of the American State Department, "The United States State Department is generally regarded by professional diplomatists who know its inner

[1] Brown, *Latin America*, p. 251.
[2] Reinsch, *World Politics*, pp. 356f.

workings as possessing the best intelligence department regarding foreign affairs generally of all the nations. The United States intelligence department has full knowledge of the customs prevalent in foreign diplomacy. It knows who the secret agents of the various powers are, and how secret service money is employed. It is knowledge of the old diplomacy that induced the United States to inaugurate a policy of straightforward business dealing with other countries."[1] Mr. Hay has carried forward American diplomatic affairs with such discretion and ability and Christian temper that American diplomacy bids fair to hold as unique a place as American commerce and enterprise. And the spirit in which this result is being attained is in a high sense the missionary spirit.

All misjudgment of our course in the Spanish war will be lived down. We did right and we shall not suffer for it. And in other regards, the war left the nation in a vastly better position to discharge its missionary duty, its obligation to the world. We had an immediate illustration of it in the ability of the Government to send troops at once from the Philippines to take part in the relief of Peking in 1900. In Japan, the war led to a great increase of respect and admiration for America. The naval battle of Manila resulting in the annihilation of the Spanish fleet without the loss of a life on the American ships, save one from heart disease, profoundly impressed the Japanese. All these things affect the work of missions because they affect the temper and the thought of men.

In the unfolding of Asia, we shall bear a large and increasing part and the occasion, at least, of our new position has been the acquisition of the Philippines, which has made us an Asiatic power. As Mr. Foster says, "With the acquisition of the Philippines, whether wisely or unwisely, the United States has assumed towards those countries the new and additional relation of a neighbour. The enormous development of the resources of the United States and the increased necessity for foreign markets have strengthened the reasons which have controlled its policy in the past, and the proximity of its new possessions, with their millions of inhabitants, has brought it nearer than ever in sympathy to these peoples and their governments. The American Union has become an Asiatic Power. It has new duties to discharge and enlarged interests to protect. But its record

[1] *The New York Sun*, July 27, 1903.

of a hundred years of honourable intercourse with that region will be a safe guide for the conduct of affairs. Its task will be well done if it shall aid in giving to the world a freer market, and to the inhabitants of the Orient the blessings of Christian civilization." [1]

But is our tenure of the Philippines to be permanent? No one can say. It is easy to argue the question, and it is not profitable, as to how soon the Filipinos are likely to be ready for self-government. [2] After all, the discussion is academic and speculative. The facts of history seem to justify Mr. Kidd's view that "there never has been and there never will be, within any time with which we are practically concerned, such a thing as good government, in the European sense, of the tropics by the natives of these regions." [3] It is a good thing to hold to the ideal of tropical states independent and self-governed, and at the same time enlightened, civilized and progressive. As Mr. Kidd says, in India and Egypt alike the most successful work ever done in the name of civilization, "has been performed and is still being performed, only under the fiction that the power which represents civilization is in occupation only temporarily." [4] It is well to recognize that this is or may be only a fiction and to give no mortgages. Let us discharge past debts and go forward doing present duty. Future destiny will be cared for by a greater will than ours. No man can now foresee the changes which time has in store for us and for the world and they build best for the nation, for mankind and for God who build with a faith void of injustice but void also of fear.

[1] Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 438.
[2] Schurman, *Philippine Affairs*, pp. 86, 102, 109.
[3] Kidd, *The Control of the Tropics*, p. 51.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The Boxer Uprising

XI

THE BOXER UPRISING

THERE has never been any historic movement beyond the bounds of our own country which has caught the attention and held the interest of the American people as the Boxer Uprising has done. This has been due in part to the fact that we know about it as we did not know about the Indian Mutiny, the Tai-ping Rebellion, the Crimean War and other great movements. The Atlantic cable was not laid until 1866, and the first telegraphic communication with India was established in 1863 and with China in 1871. But beyond this, we are concerned now in the doings of other peoples, especially Asiatic peoples, as we have never been before. We have ourselves become an Asiatic nation. What interests and affects them, concerns us. And in this particular case we were involved, both by reason of great trade interests which were suffering, the seat of the troubles being where our trade interests were greatest, [1]

[1] "American commerce with China seems to have suffered more during the disturbances of last year than that of other countries. It was well known that the exports from the United States to China last year showed a marked reduction, but it is only through the official figures of the Chinese Government, just received by the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, that a comparison of the depression in our own Chinese trade with that of other countries can be obtained. Imports into China from Great Britain in 1900 exceeded those of 1899 by more than 5,000,000 Haikuan taels; those from Russia increased a million Haikuan taels; those from Turkey in Asia, Persia, Egypt, Algiers, etc., showed a considerable increase, and those from Continental Europe a slight increase, while from the United States the imports fell from 22,288,745 Haikuan taels in 1899 to 16,724,493 in 1900. This was a reduction in imports from the United States of about twenty-five per cent., while the United Kingdom showed an increase of more than ten per cent., Russia more than twenty-five per cent., the Asiatic countries above mentioned forty per cent. and Continental Europe a slight increase.

"An examination of the details of the import trade with China in 1900, compared with that of preceding years, also justifies the conclusion that American trade suffered more than that of other countries during the year 1900.

"Cotton goods and kerosene are the largest imports into China from the United States, and they come into competition with English, Dutch and Japanese cotton and Russian and Sumatran kerosene.

and because two classes of our own people were imperilled, the representatives of our Government, and the representatives of our religion. The universal interest of the people and of the newspapers, not in the fate of the former merely, but also in all the relations of the latter to the Uprising, revealed how truly the missionary movement is the movement of Western Christendom upon the East, and not merely an enterprise of a few earnest people from whom it derives its support. And it revealed also the indissoluble connection between politics and religion in the life of the world. Probably there has never been a great political movement whose missionary aspects have been so discussed and acknowledged. Indeed, there were many who professed to see or imagined that they did see in the Boxer troubles, little but the lawless consequences not of the mistakes only, but also of the direct purpose and work of missions.

It was said that this was the legitimate outcome of an attempt to interfere with a nation's religion, that for generations the missionaries had been attacking Chinese customs, opinions and institutions, that in this work they had been tactless, imperious and unwise, that they had claimed and acted upon authorities which they did not possess, that they made constant trouble and then appealed to their Govern-

" The figures just received show that in cotton drills the imports of English goods fell from 78,887 pieces in 1899 to 69,047 in 1900, a reduction of less than 10,000 pieces; that the imports of Dutch drills increased from 40,170 pieces in 1899 to 44,624 in 1900, but that those of American drills fell from 1,626,107 pieces in 1899 to 805,892 in 1900, a reduction of more than one-half in American goods, while those from England showed a reduction of less than fifteen per cent. and those from the Netherlands an actual gain of more than ten per cent.

" In sheetings, those of English manufacture fell from 763,762 pieces in 1899 to 605,199 in 1900, a decrease of about 160,000 pieces, while those of the United States fell from 3,975,903 pieces to 2,312,494, a reduction of more than a million and a half pieces.

" Kerosene oil importations of the American product fell from 40,724,989 gallons to 34,447,112 gallons, a decrease of more than 6,000,000 gallons; that from Russia fell from 35,695,116 to 32,708,757 gallons, a decrease of about 3,000,000 gallons, while that from Sumatra showed an increase of over 4,000,000 gallons, the figures for the Sumatran oil being for 1899 11,993,202 gallons and for 1900 16,424,155 " (*Philadelphia Ledger*, December 9, 1901).

" Chinese official returns show that the imports from the United States in 1902 amounted to 30,138,713 Haikuan taels, against 23,529,606 taels in 1901, 22,288,745 taels in 1899, 12,440,302 taels in 1897 and 5,093,182 taels in 1895. The total for 1902 is the largest in the history of commerce between China and the United States, and is six times as much as in 1895, two and one-half times as much as in 1897, about thirty-five per cent. more than in 1899 and nearly thirty per cent. larger than in 1901 " (*New York Tribune*, May 25, 1903).

ments for gunboats and military protection, that they had gone where they had no right to be, and against the wishes of the Chinese people and the will of the Chinese Government, that they pursued the maddest methods, rousing the people to indignant fury, that they interfered in Chinese litigation, creating of the native Christians a state within a state, and introducing into China by means of their own extra-territorial status, irritation and needless friction, and that at last the Chinese people rose *en masse* to drive the hated missionaries out of the land, and making no distinction between the guilty missionaries and innocent traders and diplomatists, visited upon all the wrath which the missionaries had aroused. Just as Lord Ellenborough declared the Indian Mutiny to be the effect of unwarranted interference with the religions of India, and so shifted to the missionary enterprise the burden which belonged to the selfish and compromising policy of which he was the personification, so now many, not including, however, either the ministers and consuls or the respectable merchants whose judgment ought to be reliable, charge the missionaries and their movement with responsibility for an upheaval which has cost the lives of one hundred and eighty-eight Protestant missionaries, thirty-three Catholic priests and nuns, and thousands of native Christians, and involved the Chinese Government in a war with all the Powers of the West and Japan.

I have summarized in part the statements made about missions in China, not for the purpose of taking them up for reply here,—they have been adequately answered elsewhere,—but simply to indicate that if ever there was a political movement demanding a study of its missionary aspects it is the Boxer Uprising.

More or less mystery surrounds still the origin and character of the organization popularly called in the West, "The Boxer Society." Some writers have identified it with the Triad Society[1] but there is no evidence of this, and there is the contrary indication in the fact that the Triads are an organization in southern China rather than in the north. The Triads have not been as active lately as either of the other great societies, the Ko-lao Hui, which General Tsêng Kwo-fan founded in the days of the Tai-ping Rebellion before the walls of Nanking, and the I Ho Ch'üan, the "Righteous Harmony Fists," or "Boxers." All these societies have been hostile to the Manchu

[1] Article in *New York Independent*, June 28, 1900, pp. 1534–7.

dynasty, even the Boxers, who have been patronized by the Empress and used for her own purposes, and the great anti-foreign movements have been caused by the latter two, the Ko-lao Hui having fomented from Hunan the riots in the Yang-tse Valley in 1891, and the Boxers having brought on the fiercest anti-foreign movement in the history of China's dealings with the West.

The failure of the poppy crop in northern Kiang-su and the overflow of the Yellow River in Shan-tung in 1898, led to conditions which favoured the growth of the I Ho Ch'üan, especially in the western section of Shan-tung, where it appears already to have acquired no little popularity. The great flood swept away thousands of villages with their crops, and left multitudes of people destitute. Many of these swelled the number of the wandering brigands who lived on what they could secure. Others were forced to organize in their villages companies for self-defence against robber bands. The origin of the Boxers is quite obscure but "Volunteer Associated Fists," the name of the Boxer Society, would just describe the character and purposes of such societies for the maintenance of some semblance of order. The chasm between the criminal class and the police force is not wide in some civilized lands. It was yet narrower in such a state of society as prevailed in west Shan-tung, where the people were in great poverty, and some stole simply because they seemed to have no other way to live. Any great purpose which appealed equally to both classes of people, which offered some employment and some escape from the existing social conditions, and which moreover allowed some vent for the existing feeling of discontent at a situation whose causes were not analyzed, was sure to unify these people and to make of them a disturbing power.[1]

Antagonism to the Manchu dynasty was not sufficient to accomplish this. In the Tai-ping Rebellion it was not hostility to the dynasty alone that accounted for the startling success of the movement. To this were added religious feeling, and the influence of Western nations. In the case of the Tai-pings these produced friendly feelings towards the West, for the religious element was supplied by a distorted form of Christianity, and was aimed against Chinese superstition, while the Tai-pings showed no political resentment at the Opium War. They only lamented its effects in paving the way for a

[1] Smith, *China in Convulsion*, Vol. I, Ch. X.

larger opium trade. They were influenced deeply by the fact that the war had shown only more clearly the impotence and corruptions of their rulers. Both religion and political interference in China had, accordingly, increased the Tai-pings' hostility to the throne. In the case of the Boxer movement, these two elements were also present, in addition to traditional antagonism to the dynasty, but instead of increasing the latter, they for the time being overcame it, and the Boxer Society (as indeed also the Ko-lao Hui, in which however the religious element was Confucian rather than Buddhist, and therefore more passive), which had as its "main object the expulsion of the Mandarins, became the ardent supporter of the reigning dynasty"; and took as its motto the words "Protect the Ch'ing dynasty; exterminate the foreigners."[1]

The religious character of the Boxers, however, is not recent. It appears to have had in it for years, perhaps from the beginning, an element of intense superstitious fanaticism. Its exercises consisted of the repetition of charms, violent contortions of the body, trances including occult pronouncements and stages of ecstasy. "Each band was conducted by a 'demonized' leader, who, by the selection of an epileptic patient, or by the aid of hypnotism, caused a 'medium' to display wild and unnatural symptoms or to utter strange and peculiar speech, this serving as a basis for the claim of the Society to spiritual power."[2] The members of the society were by these exercises made immune from death or injury, their bodies being spiritually protected from wounds by bullet or sword. Confucianism with its indifferent agnosticism could not supply these ideas. They spring from the Buddhist-Taoist commingled superstition which dominates the popular mind, and perhaps also the minds of the great majority of educated Confucianists. Buddhist priests appeared as leaders, and many of the schemes of the movement, it is said, were "hatched in Buddhist monasteries and in the purlieus of the Yamens."[3] How deep the religious feelings of the Boxers were is indicated by their own confident belief that they were secure from death in battle and their consequent readiness to rush into conflict with the impetuous madness of the followers of the Mahdi. Their proclamations, also, were con-

[1] Hawks Pott, *The Outbreak in China*, p. 80.
[2] *The Rise and Progress of the Boxer Movement*, p. 1.
[3] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 28, 1900, p. 91.

stantly couched in religious language and appealed to the religious conscience of the people. These and the statements of the Boxers indicate that they truly believed that they were aided by supernatural power. A writer in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, who was well informed from personal observation,[1] writes that the "Mythology" of the movement, succinctly stated, was as follows:

"The present is a peculiar era in the history of the Empire when the interference of power from heaven is to rescue it from the clutches of all foreigners and from the defilement of all foreign innovations. This is done by sending down from heaven uncounted legions of spiritual soldiers, generally spoken of as swordsmen. These spiritual warriors being invisible and apart from human agency impotent, it is necessary that they should 'possess' ordinary men in order to effect their purpose. The so-called 'drill' has for its object to induce 'possession,' and individuals so possessed become invulnerable and invincible in fight."

The Chinese mind fully accepts this idea. "Extravagant as it may seem, there is no Chinaman, high or low, friend or foe to the society, from the Empress Dowager downwards, who does not believe in the reality and power of this so-called possession."[2] Another singular feature of the movement illustrating its mystical character was the place of children in it. They began the "drill" in the villages, and it was only when rioting and violence began that the men appeared, and even in the Boxer armies foreigners were astonished at the number of mere boys clad in the striking Boxer uniform of red, the Chinese wedding colour. The writer already quoted, speaks of this. The children, he says,

"are an essential factor in the growth of the society in every place where it makes its appearance. It is they who most readily induce the strange trance characteristic of the 'drill.' To them the mystic messages of the impending advent of their leaders are given. They are its plastic and docile mediums. We have never been able to quite clear up this point, but their supposed possession of supernatural powers seems to be somehow connected with the marriage ceremony. In the placards are mysterious allusions to the 'Light of the Red Lamp,' and the rebels in addition to wearing red turbans and red girdles, are said to carry red lamps. There is, however, a deeper meaning than this attached to the phrase Light of the Red Lamp (Hung Têng Chao). The Red Lamp (Hung Têng) is an invariable adjunct to the bridal chamber; Light (Chao) means to light, to illuminate, to reveal. . . . It is certain that in addition to much other

[1] The Rev. Geo. T. Candlin.
[2] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 28, 1900, p. 91.

mythology, the movement involves the idea of a revelation, and there is ground for supposing that the revelation is somehow connected with the institution of marriage, and the hung têng chao may be translated 'the revelation of the bridal chamber.'" [1]

There is mention in the proclamations repeatedly of Buddha, "Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have deceived the spirits and destroyed the (teachings of) the sages, and are not obedient to the law of Buddha, eighty thousand spiritual soldiers will come in the clouds to sweep out the foreigners from abroad;" and again, "Buddha, the Illuminated, is manifesting his sacred character to Governor Yü of Shan-tung;" and again, "Since the multitude have ceased to believe in Buddha and are unfilial towards their parents, high heaven is despatching in its anger a million spiritual soldiers to reward the good and punish the evil." It is evident that the Boxer Movement was thoroughly religious and that its religious spirit was intensely national and anti-foreign.

But to religion was added a bitter spirit of hostility to the West on other grounds,—the introduction of railroads and other features of Western civilization, and the appropriation of territory by European Governments being foremost among them. We shall come to consider these in due time. It is sufficient to note now that the two things which fortified Tai-ping dislike of the dynasty, in the case of the Boxers overcame it sufficiently to make them intense supporters of the throne against the dreaded invasion of foreign interference. And yet their discontent with the existing political situation was not forgotten. The Boxers did not cease to criticise their own Government because they supported it against foreigners, and if they had succeeded in expelling the foreigners, they would probably have turned soon, unless defeated, to the overthrow of the dynasty, in spite of their placards which read, "Elevate the Manchus. Kill the foreigners."

The spirit of the Boxer Movement as thus described, is well set forth in a proclamation issued on April 3, 1900, in the district of Pao-ting Fu.

"The Chinese Empire has been celebrated for its sacred teaching. It explained heavenly truth and taught human duties, and its civilizing influence spread as an ornament over river and hill.

[1] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 28, 1900, p. 90.

"But all this has been changed in an unaccountable manner. For the past five or six generations bad officials have been in trust, bureaus have been opened for the sale of offices, and only those who had money to pay for it have been allowed to hold positions in the Government. The graduation of scholars has become useless, and members of the College of Literature and scholars for the Third Degree are in obscurity at home. An official position can only be obtained at the price of silver. The Emperor covets the riches of his ministers, these again extort from the lower ranks of the Mandarinate, and the lower Mandarins in turn (by the necessity of their position) must extort from the people. The whole populace is sunk in wretchedness and all the officials are spoilers of their food. The condition of the Yamens is unspeakable. In every market and in every field nothing can be done unless money be spent. The officials must be bribed, all sorts of exactions are made. These officials are full of schemes none of which are in accordance with the three principles. Having forfeited their heaven-derived disposition, they are unreasonable and irregulated. They are all alike; ill gotten wealth is their one object. Right has disappeared from the world. There is nothing but squabbling and extortion on all hands, and lawsuits are unnumbered. In the Yamens it is of no avail to have a clear case; unless you bribe you will lose the day. There is no one to whom the aggrieved may appeal; the simple multitudes are killed with oppression, and their cry goes up to heaven itself and is heard of God. Though spiritual beings and sages are sent down to teach right principles, to issue good books, and to instruct the multitudes, few alas! heeded. Who is there that understands? The evil go on their course rejoicing, while the spiritual powers are conscious that their teaching has been vain.

"Now in anger the heavenly powers are sending down multitudes of spirits to earth to make inquiry of all, both high and low. The Emperor himself, the chief offender, has had his succession cut off and is childless. The whole court, both civil and military is in an unspeakable condition. They indulge blindly in mere amusement, and disregard the widow's cry, repenting of nothing and learning of nothing good.

"Greater calamities still have overtaken the nation. Foreign devils have come with their teaching, and converts to Christianity, Roman Catholic and Protestant, have become numerous. These (churches) are without human relations, but being most cunning, they have attracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree they have practiced oppression, until every good official has been corrupted, and covetous of foreign wealth, has become their servant. So telegraphs and railways have been established, foreign rifles and guns have been manufactured, and machine shops have been a delight to their evil nature. Locomotives, balloons, electric lamps, the foreign devils think excellent. Though these foreigners ride in sedan chairs unbefitting their rank, China yet regards them as barbarians, of whom God disapproves, and is sending down spirits and genii for their destruction. The first of these powers which has already descended is the Light of the Red Lamp, and the Volunteer Associated Fists will have a row with the devils. They will burn down the foreign buildings and re-

store the temples. Foreign goods of every kind they will destroy. They will extirpate the evil demons and establish right teaching—the honour of the spirits and the sages—they will cause to flourish their sacred teachings. The purpose of heaven is fixed, a clean sweep will be made. Within three years all will be accomplished. The bad will not escape the net and the goodness of God will be seen. The secrets of heaven are not to be lightly disclosed, but the days of peace to come are not unknown. At least the Yü Mao years (1902, 1903). The song of the little ones ends here in a promise of happiness to men, the joy of escape from rapine. This last word is the summary of all.

"Scholars and gentlemen must by no means esteem this a light and idle curse and so disregard its meaning." [1]

This proclamation was issued in the spring of 1900. The movement had already been under way for more than six months. It first began to attract attention of the West in the winter of 1899 and 1900. It had begun in Shan-tung Province in some attacks on Roman Catholics, which soon extended to embrace Protestant Christians also, and on December 31st, issued in the murder of an English missionary, the Rev. Sydney Brooks. Frequent warnings of what was coming were sent to Peking by missionaries and others, but little attention was paid to them, and the disturbance extended to Chih-li province, the first outbreak occurring in an attack upon a Roman Catholic station on the same day on which Mr. Brooks was killed. Meeting with no opposition, the Boxers swept north, fell on the Roman Catholic villages near Pao-ting Fu, shut up in the city the missionaries located there, poured down the Lu Han railway, destroying it as they went as a foreign abomination, killed some of the Belgian engineers at work on it, the rest barely escaping with their lives through an aroused and excited country, to Tientsin. The Boxers rushed on north to Peking and invested the city, having burned and looted every station on the railway as they came. The movement swept east to Tientsin, and surrounded that port, while in Peking, admitted to the city, and practically capturing the reins of Government, the Boxers surrounded the foreigners, destroyed their chapels and outstanding buildings, and finally drove them altogether into the British Legation, and laid siege to them there, violating the sanctity of the persons of the representatives of the Western powers, threatening their utter destruction, and affronting the civilized world. The tide of hostile feeling which had thus in six months driven

[1] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 28, 1900, p. 91.

almost every foreigner out of the interior of the two provinces of Shan-tung and Chih-li, laid siege to all who had taken refuge and were defending themselves in Peking and Tientsin, and destroyed hundreds of Christian chapels and massacred hundreds of native Christians, swept over the whole Empire, and but for the position taken by the governor of Shan-tung and the governors of the provinces south of the Yang-tse, might have fulfilled the desire of the Boxers and driven every foreigner out of the Empire. The attitude of these governors, however, confined the disturbance to the provinces of Shan-tung and Chih-li, Ho-nan and Shan-si, and as the only foreigners in the latter were missionaries, they were soon killed or expelled, and the struggle was confined to Chih li. Tientsin was relieved on July 13th and 14th, and after a terrible summer of suffering, not the least part of which was absolute separation from communication with the outside world, the besieged company in Peking was rescued on August 14th, the Boxers fled, and the Chinese court, conscious of its participation in the Uprising, fled with them, and took up its headquarters at Si-ngan Fu, to await the issue of the tedious negotiations for a basis of settlement, rendered the more tedious by the complication of the situation on both sides, on the side of the foreign nations by their diversity of interests, and their mutual suspicions, and on China's side by the doubt as to her responsibility for what had taken place, and as to her ability to carry out any requirements imposed upon her.

That the Chinese Government was responsible for the Boxer Uprising was of course the assumption underlying the negotiations at Peking, the Uprising having so entangled itself with the Imperial Government, at least after its arrival at Peking, as to involve the latter in the acts of the movement. But as a matter of fact, the Government was responsible either for the Uprising or for the failure to suppress it from the beginning. It began in Shan-tung. The ministers in Peking were warned of its significance, and the governor of Shan-tung, Yü Hsien, who had been the patron of the Society, was recalled to Peking. Instead of being reproved, however, he was received with honour by the Dowager Empress, rewarded, and appointed governor of Shan-si. It was after this tacit approval of the Society and its aims that the Boxers ventured to kill Mr. Brooks, and it was subsequently in Shan-si, in Yü Hsien's own home and with

his personal participation, that the foulest missionary massacres occurred. If the Government had wished to do so it could have throttled the Uprising at its birth. On the other hand, its course emboldened the leaders and encouraged them to expect Imperial favour for anti-foreign activity. In January, 1900, an Imperial Edict warned officials not to confuse the patriots drilling for national defence with rioters. Two months before, an edict had appeared which seemed to the Boxers like direct and authoritative commendation of their purpose and plans: "Our empire is now labouring under great difficulties which are becoming daily more serious. The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be first to seize upon our innermost terrritories. . . . It is our special command, therefore, that should any high official find himself so hard pressed by circumstances that nothing short of a war would settle matters, he is expected to set himself resolutely to work out his duty to this end. . . . So as to present a united front to the enemy, entreating and encouraging their officers and soldiers in person to fight for the preservation of their homes and native soil from the encroaching footsteps of the foreign aggressor. Never should the word 'Peace' fall from the mouths of our high officials. . . . If only each and all of you would prove his loyalty to his Emperor and love of country, what, indeed, is there to fear from any invaders! Let no one think of making peace, but let each strive to preserve from destruction and spoliation his ancestral home and graves from the ruthless hands of the invader."

It has been urged by some that the Chinese Government did not formally participate in hostilities until the foreign admirals had taken the Ta-ku forts on June 17th. This might be true, but it would not alter the fact that the necessity for taking the forts sprang from the acts and attitude of the Government, and that this defence is technical and not substantial. If the forts had not been taken when they were, both Peking and Tientsin would probably have fallen before the Chinese troops, made up of Boxers and Imperial soldiers alike. And there is evidence enough of the complicity of the Government or of a responsible section of it in the Boxer disturbance antedating the capture of the Ta-ku forts. Prince Tuan, who was made president of the Tsung-li Yamen and who dictated the Gov-

ernment's course during its most bitterly anti-foreign stage, was one of the leading officials of the Boxers. And others high in authority were in its secret councils. And as for the Dowager Empress herself, a fair-minded and just man has said what may perhaps be the verdict of history, what at least was the verdict of almost all foreigners in China at the time. "Had this wretched and cruel woman," said the Rev. George B. Smyth, "been so minded, and had she so ordered, the movement could have been crushed long before it became dangerous; but she refused even to attempt to put it down, and degraded any official who was honest enough to oppose it and protect the Christians and foreigners within his jurisdiction. And all because she thought she saw in the strength of the Uprising, in its fierce fanaticism, in its murderous hostility to foreigners, the means of accomplishing the most cherished ambition both of herself and of the bigoted crew of Manchu reactionaries who surrounded her, the expulsion from China of all foreigners and of all the ideas, religious, social and political, which foreigners represent."[1] Perhaps, when we have got further away from these sad events we shall see them in a little different relationship. Possibly then we shall appreciate the Chinese view more fully. There was need of a patriotic preparation among the people for national defence. The Dowager Empress did right to encourage a patriotic organization to spread national sentiment, and get ready for national emergency. She did wrong to use as unguarded language as she did. She did greater wrong in continuing to be herself the blind, obstructive woman she was, and in yielding herself to advisers of the same sort. She had no right to be corrupt and to honour corrupt men, some of whom were selling the interests of the Government the Boxers were desiring to protect. But surely she did not contemplate such a development as occurred. She was getting ready, perhaps, for a great criminal assault on foreigners in China, or perhaps only for such a defence of China as continual foreign aggression made her feel was imperatively needed and might be demanded at any hour. The movement, however, escaped from control, and then instead of suppressing it, she let it go, and flung herself in with it, and allowed

[1] *China Against the World*, p. 4; *Journal of the American Association of China*, January, 1901, pp. 9f; *The Independent*, November 22, 1900, Art. "A Chinese Account of the Siege of the Legations"; *The Fortnightly Review*, November, 1900, Art. by Sir Robert Hart.

things to be done in her name, such as the Edict of June 20, ordering the extermination of all foreigners in China, which were horrible and atrocious, and revealed in her a heart tenfold blacker than that of Hung Siu-tsuen, the success of whose rebellion would have shut out of history the mature life of the evil woman who has obstructed the will of God for China for more than half a century.

This hasty sketch of the Boxer Uprising has indicated what any attempt at an honest statement would indicate, namely, that it was an anti-foreign movement, and not simply or principally an anti-missionary movement. The same conclusion might have been reached by examining the grounds of criticism of missions on which some rested the judgment that the Uprising was the product of missions. Such an examination would have shown the incompetence of the cause to produce such an effect. A simple historic statement, however, suffices to show that the Uprising was primarily a patriotic revolt against Western influence, and that missions suffered as part of the great movement by which the West is irresistibly projecting itself upon the East.[1] If the West had come in the missionary enterprise alone there

[1] "Bishop Merel of Kwang-tung province, has sent this interesting document to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. It is one of the many proclamations which helped to incite the terrible massacres in China. Unfortunately there are grounds for the indignation of the writer, which will awaken sympathy even among his opponents" (*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, January and February, 1902, p. 50):

"Providence has appointed me the Peacemaker and Saviour of China. I, therefore, Li, Commander-in-Chief of the Boxers, whose motto is 'Justice and Peace,' entreat you to unite with us in driving out the foreign enemies, in giving peace to our nation, and prosperity to our people.

"We consider as a foreigner whoever belongs neither to our kindred nor to our race. The Westerners are doubly foreigners; for they come from other climes, and are descended from a wholly different people. The holy religion of Confucius has never lightened them; they have never become civilized agreeably to the laws of the Empire. They cultivate innovations and introduce absurd customs. They no longer walk in the path of their forefathers; they have lost the memory of their ancestors.

"During the twenty years of his reign our most noble Emperor, successor to the princely rulers of China, has not had the heart to expel Europeans. He has been guided by superhuman kindness; and has imitated the hospitality of the former kings towards strangers. He has been most liberal to them; loaded them with favours, and concluded treaties of alliance with them. Europeans, you have ungratefully supposed that fear dictated his policy!

"Though the foreigners are heavy and dull by nature, they have employed nothing but trickery. First they came to us as traders; then as preachers; finally they exacted indemnities from us, only to provoke a conflict. They forgot the favours of the Emperor. They were strong in the support of corrupted ministers; they have realized large profits from appropriating our taxes, relying on the Mandarins to squeeze it out of the impoverished people.

would have been no Uprising. "The Chinese as a class," says Mr. Foster, "are not fanatic in religion, and if other causes had not operated to awaken a national hostility to foreigners, the missionaries would have been left free to combat Buddhism and Taoism, and carry on their work of establishing schools and hospitals." [1] "Unlike Hindu or Mohammedan," says Dr. Martin, "the ordinary Chinese is so far from fanaticism that he appears to be almost destitute of religious sentiments. Not one attack on missionaries that I ever heard of, was made by Buddhists, Taoists or any other sect on the ground of religious differences." [2] And though Buddhism appears to be made a ground of appeal in the Boxer placards, there is reason to believe that it is in the same sense in which religious prejudice was appealed to during the Indian Mutiny, namely, to arouse emotion when the grounds of action were civil and political. The thoughts of the Chinese are civil thoughts. They are not a religious people, and of purely religious questions are as tolerant people as are to be found

"What is still more insulting, they have overthrown our laws, unjustly seized on our territory, and desecrated our burial-places. Who can tell the misfortunes of China? What nation has suffered like ours? The more one thinks of it the more detestable he finds all Europeans and their influences. To our over-indulgent kindness they have answered only with increasing violence. It is the common opinion; and from all ranks a cry for vengeance arises.

"More outrageous still, is to see the magistrates of our beloved Emperor take the foreigners under their protection; to see the sad spectacle of inhabitants of our Celestial Kingdom adopting the religion from the West, thus increasing the insolence of Europeans, and helping on their design to dismember China. Such conduct is unbearable, and richly deserves punishment. This is why we raise high throughout the Empire this banner of justice. We shall stand united. We shall form a bulwark against our enemies. Be brave, that we may arise to expel our executioners, and drive out our oppressors.

"To avenge our Government first, then give freedom to its humble subjects; this is the watchword of the noble society 'Gni-wa-koung.' We would destroy the religions from the West, for not till then can we recall our soldiers from the front. We would exterminate every European, and reenter as victors, to enjoy our beloved fatherland. Let all who are for us unite with our society. Let the whole Empire enlist in our ranks, on the receipt of this manifesto.

"To all native Christians we say: 'Return to your former religion; you see the dangers threatening you, but be converted and you will escape them. If you obstinately persevere in the same opinions, you will suffer fearful torments. Mandarins will be dealt with as traitors. Other Christians will be hunted down and punished as thieves or highwaymen; their bodies will be quartered, and their relatives put to death before their eyes.'

"Let no one accuse me of undue severity; but let every one prepare to obey my orders, and fear to transgress them.

"Such is my program."

[1] The Hon. John W. Foster in *The Missionary Herald*, October, 1900, p. 396.

[2] *A Cycle of Cathay*, p. 44.

in the world. "Our own opinion," says Chang Chih-tung, "is that in order to advance Confucianism we must reform the Government, and not everlastingly combat other religions. . . . The higher class of Chinese should carefully consider the situation, and should tolerate the Western religion as they tolerate Buddhism and Taoism. Why should it injure us?"[1] Chinese anti-foreign feeling does not spring, therefore, in any prominent way from religious fanaticism, nor is it directed especially at the missionaries as the representatives of religion. Their antipathy is anti-foreign, not anti-missionary; and anti-missionary only because anti-foreign, and because the Chinese when excited fail to draw distinctions which they are ready to see when sober. "The rabble," says Chang Chih-tung, "do not consider whether a man is a missionary or not, or whether he is a European or American. Without any reason whatever the innocent man is often beaten by the Chinese, who cannot tell whether he is a custom-house officer, an assistant of some Mandarin, a traveller, or a clergyman. All are hustled alike."[2] The Shameen riot in Canton in 1883, was a purely secular riot, but the missionaries felt the effects of it almost equally. In the riot at Wu-sueh, near Hankow in 1891, Mr. Argent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and Mr. Green of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, died together. If Mr. Brooks was killed in Shan-tung, Mr. Margary was killed at Manwyne in Yun-nan, and the former was a mob murder, while the latter crime was countenanced by the Governor General and executed officially.[3] It is futile for any class to separate itself from other classes in this matter. All foreigners are popularly classed together, and merchants and ministers waste their time who try to make of the Chinese problem a mere missionary problem. And yet, in a higher sense that is just what it is, and if it is the relationship of missions to the general movement of the Western nations and civilization which compels it to share the anti-foreign feeling aroused, this general movement also is detested because it is in a real sense a missionary movement, proposing change, and breaking down the treasured customs and traditions by the introduction of new forces and revolutionary ideas. And many who are wise perceive this. "I

[1] *China's Only Hope*, pp. 144f.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[3] Douglas, *Society in China*, pp. 271f.

venture to say," said a representative of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, at a meeting in Shanghai in December, 1900, "that neither missionary nor merchant can stand alone. Our interests in this country are too closely identified. We must stand or fall together. We are all missionaries in spite of ourselves. If I appeal now for greater breadth of view, for more mutual forbearance, in a word, for increased unity, it is because I am persuaded that only when and not until the missionary and mercantile forces are united, can we look for real and lasting success in the great civilizing work to which, consciously or unconsciously, we are all committed." [1]

If any distinction is to be made between the different forces composing the Western propaganda in China, and I am going on to insist upon some distinctions, it is claimed that missions are the least offensive to the Chinese, and the least feared.[2] The right to trade in five open ports was extorted from the Chinese as the result of the Opium War. The right to profess and propagate Christianity in the ports was willingly conceded by edict under no such pressure. The treaties drafted at the close of the Arrow War specifically acknowledge Christianity and the right of the missionaries to propagate it. It has been stated that the most favourable clause in these treaties, the provision in the French Treaty allowing the Catholic missions to buy land and build houses in the interior, was smuggled into the treaty, and that the Chinese did not have courage to resist it.[3] There is no evidence of this. There is evidence that the clause was put where it is in the Chinese version of the treaty, with the knowledge and consent of the Chinese negotiators, and has always been acknowledged by them, and it is known that the clause of toleration in the American treaty owes practically nothing to the United States official representative and any pressure he used.[4]

[1] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge*, p. 66.

[2] Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 410–421.

[3] Gorst, *China*, p. 174.

[4] S. Wells Williams was one of the interpreters with Mr. Reed, the American minister, and he wrote in a letter in 1878 a full account of how the toleration clause came to be in the American treaty: "As the matter of the 'Toleration Clauses' in the treaties of 1858 has become one of general interest to the mission body in China, I regret that the statement concerning it in the report of the Shanghai Conference should not have been more accurate. The toleration of Christianity was not brought forward by the Chinese commissioners in any shape, for it was a point upon which they were wholly ignorant as a religious question.

Again, in 1871, the famous memorandum of the Tsung-li Yamen on the missionary question declared, "The Chinese Government . . . is not opposed to the work of missions." And it speaks of "the genuine desire of the Chinese Government to extend an efficient

The Russian Minister was the first to formulate an article on this subject, and in the discussion which ensued as to his draft of a treaty presented to the Chinese officials, they are said to have expressed their willingness to allow missionaries to travel through the country, inasmuch as these could usually speak the language; they opposed a like permission to merchants, who could not do so, and this ignorance was sure to breed trouble. These officials knew the Russian priests in Peking to be quiet, industrious men, and were doubtless willing enough to admit them to further privileges, but they could give no opinion on the general toleration of Christianity, for they knew practically nothing of its peculiar tenets.

"The next day I got the Chinese text of this article and drew up a similar one for the U. S. treaty, leaving out the proviso that 'a certain number of missionaries would be allowed, and inserting the two names for Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, so as to bring the former distinctly before them as not the same as the Roman and Greek churches; it was otherwise different in phraseology but not in spirit. The night before the treaty was signed, a note was sent from the Chinese, rejecting this article altogether, on the ground that Protestant missionaries had their families with them, and must be restricted to the open ports; the inference was therefore pretty plain that the novelty of foreign women travelling about the country had presented itself to their minds as an objection to allowing Americans to preach Christianity. As soon as I could do so I drew up another form of the same article, and started off next morning to lay it before the Imperial Commissioners. It was quite the same article as before, but they accepted it without any further discussion or alteration; however, the word 'whoever' in my English version was altered by Mr. Reed to 'any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who'—because he wished every part of the treaty to refer to United States citizens, and cared not very much whether it had a toleration article or not. I did care, and was thankful to God that it was inserted. It is the only treaty in existence which contains the royal law. I have always regarded the present article as better than the discarded one; that in the British treaty was abridged from it, and I understood at the time that it would not have been inserted if ours had not contained such a clause. It must be said, moreover, that if the Chinese had at all comprehended what was involved in these four toleration articles, they would never have signed one of them. In the *Chinese Repository* you will find a partial toleration of our religion by the Emperor Taokwang, but this was only a rescript and did not carry with it the weight of a treaty, and during the fourteen years which had intervened since its promulgation it had pretty much lost its effect.

"I could never ascertain who had a hand in causing the rejection of my first form of the article, but think that it was some one connected with the French legation. The harsh and unjust criticisms of some persons on these articles in 1860 was only the beginning of the pulling and hauling they have since received; but it is much easier to find fault and overthrow than to improve and build up. Though Christianity does not depend upon treaties for its progress and power, these articles have proved to be a check upon the native officials, who have been taught therein not to destroy what they did not approve. I thank God that the Imperial Government was thereby bound not to become a persecuting Government, as it has more than once since wished to be" (*Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, pp. 270f.).

protection to missionaries" in the interior. The evidence that of the foreign forces at work in China missions are the least unpopular, when we take into consideration their immense extent as compared with the field affected by other forces, might be multiplied indefinitely. It is sufficient here to point out, as Dr. Martin does, that of the outbreaks of 1891, in China, almost all were on the banks of the Yang-tse and at ports of trade, nor were they, save in one instance, specially aimed at missionaries. "Of the hundreds of missionaries living away from the river, scarcely one was molested. It is morally certain that among the mixed motives of the excited masses, the diversion of the carrying trade from native junks to foreign steamers was at the bottom of the movement. On the upper Yang-tse where two of the riots occurred, so strong was the opposition to steamers ascending the rapids, that the British minister felt constrained to waive the exercise of that right. No special effort was made to keep missionaries out of Chung-king, but the Mandarins moved heaven and earth to prevent the coming of the steamer *Ku-ling*." [1] At Wu-hu, the British Consulate and the Imperial Customs House were

The latest and, it is to be hoped the results may prove, the most satisfactory treaty agreement with China on the subject of Christianity and the Christian subjects of China, is Article XIV of the Commercial Treaty between the United States and China, proclaimed on January 13, 1904:

"The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them. These who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested therefor. No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian churches. Converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China; and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offence they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the Church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live together in peace.

"Missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such societies, buildings or lands in all parts of the Empire for missionary purposes and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work."

[1] *A Cycle of Cathay*, p. 446.

destroyed, as well as the Catholic Mission.[1] The natural result of missionary work is that it should win confidence and esteem. That the most sincere and unselfish men in the country should be the most disliked would be inconceivable. That they should be in their capacity as religious teachers respected, especially in China, is what we would unavoidably expect. And "any one who has taken the trouble to watch their doings and observe their lives," says the editor of the *Japan Weekly Mail*, "must admit that they are good men, that their influence is thoroughly wholesome, and that they set an example which greatly lessens the reproach attaching to foreign communities in general."[2] "Hostility to foreigners prevails," says an editorial in an American paper, which has as often been unfair to the missionaries as the *Japan Mail* has been uniformly fair, "that has been the product of a bloody evolution, and is so deeply ingrained in humanity as to affect the legislation and the customs of the most advanced nations. But we have yet to learn of any tribe or race where Christian missionaries have not won appreciation, honour, and affection, so soon as they had opportunity to reveal their purposes."[3]

If then the Boxer Uprising was an outbreak of patriotic feeling springing from general and long enduring antipathy to Western nations and Western influence, and not arising from special hatred of the missionary enterprise, what, it may be asked, were the causes of the intense feelings which expressed themselves in this terrible way? They are inextricably intertwined with the whole course of China's relations to the West, and they are rooted in the character and customs, in the vices and some of the virtues alike of the Chinese and of ourselves.[4] We have felt at last the fierce heat of the friction of two civilizations[5] with their defects and their excellencies forced into

[1] Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 329.
[2] *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 14, 1900.
[3] *New York Evening Post*, April 30, 1900.
[4] See Reid, *The Sources of the Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China*, Edition of 1903.
[5] "We are not to be judged by the acts of our mobs, nor even, I may add, by those of our Government, for the Government in China does not represent the nation. Yet even those acts (strongly as they are condemned by all educated Chinamen) deserve, I venture to think, on the part of Europeans, a consideration more grave, and a less intemperate reprobation, than they have hitherto received among you. For they are expressions of a feeling which is, and must always be, the most potent factor in our relations with the West—our profound mistrust and dislike of your civilization. . . .

collision under circumstances which precluded or discouraged mutual understanding and sympathy and forbearance.

The main cause of anti-foreign feeling in China is the disposition of the Chinese. For centuries their geographical isolation and their peculiar system of education, combined with the natural characteristics of the race, have made of the Chinese a nation *sui generis*. Their position of unquestioned supremacy, their sense of intellectual superiority, their power and prestige during all these years of their intercourse with other peoples down to the dawn of the last century, supplied them with that spirit of supercilious contempt for others and of impenetrably dense bigotry and racial pride, which were above all other qualities adapted to fill their intercourse with Western peoples with friction and misunderstanding. It is customary to attribute this anti-foreign feeling of China to the Manchu dynasty, which was itself a foreign dynasty, and sought to protect itself from other foreigners by closing the ports of China against them. "Before the advent of the Manchus," says Colquhoun, "China maintained constant relations with the countries of Asia; traders from Arabia, Persia, and India trafficked in Chinese ports and passed into the interior. The tablet of Si-ngan Fu shows that missionaries from the West were propagating the Christian religion in the eighth century; in the thirteenth, Marco Polo was not only cordially received, but held office in the Empire, and at that time the Christian religious ceremonies were tolerated in Peking, where there was an archbishop. To the close of the last Chinese dynasty (1644), the Jesuit missionaries were well received and treated at the capital; and as Huc remarks, the first Tartar Emperors merely tolerated what they found existing. This would seem to show conclusively that the Chinese did not formerly have the aversion to foreigners which is usually assumed."[1] Too much emphasis can be laid on this view. The spirit of the reigning dynasty has had a great share in strengthening Chinese narrowness, but the Confucian system has been as powerful

"We would not if we could rival you in your wealth, your sciences, and your arts, if we must do so at the cost of imitating your institutions. . . .

"And while we recognize the greatness of your practical and scientific achievements, yet we find it impossible unreservedly to admire a civilization which has produced manners so coarse, morals so low, and an appearance so unlovely as those with which we are constantly confronted in your great cities" (*Letters from a Chinese Official*, pp. 4, 5, 8, 10).

[1] *China in Transformation*, pp. 34f.

an agency. It has settled the people in ways from which departure is treason and infamy. One reason why foreigners were tolerated in the past was that they came to China on China's terms, but so soon as foreigners came who would not do this, who would represent a civilization stronger than China's, and that would not succumb to China's, it was certain that there would be trouble. But whatever the past causes of the popular feeling may have been, it is certain that the spirit of the Chinese people in their relation to foreigners during the present century has been a spirit of proud exclusiveness, jealous resentment, suspicion, misconception and disaffection, and overweening arrogance.[1] To all this should be added the stubborn conservatism of the people, "stuck in the mud of antiquity," as Viceroy Chang Chih-tung says,[2] and again he adds, "of all countries China alone has for these fifty years proved herself almost irreclaimably stupid and not awake."[3] Yet even Chang Chih-tung

[1] Reid, *Sources of the Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China*, Ch. III.

[2] *China's Only Hope*, p. 126.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 52.

In *The Japan Mail* for February 22, 1902, in "Latter Day Notes on the Chinese Question," Kung Hung-Ming sets forth the opposite view of the Literati.

"But it is not our intention here to write a defence of the Literati in China. They have, no doubt, their faults, one of which is over-education. 'When the natural qualities of men,' says Confucius, 'get the better of the results of education, they are rude men or barbarians, literally, heathens! When the results of education get the better of their natural qualities, they become literati.' We must further admit that the actual governing class from all appearances at the present moment are in a helpless state of demoralization, the causes of which it would take too long to give an account of here. We will only remark that the worst system of the demoralization of the governing class in China was the recent attempt at so-called reforms in Peking. It showed the utter helplessness—and it is perhaps but just to call it the helplessness of despair—of the Literati in China, that a few of the scum of the educated class were allowed for a few months to play tricks with their national institutions in favour of imperfectly understood revolutionary theories which they had picked up from foreign missionaries and the Shanghai newspapers! But notwithstanding all their faults it is but just to the governing class even of the present day to say that it is entirely due to them that whatever good government, or any government at all that is still left in China, is made possible. It has been usual with foreign writers on China to praise up the common people and to abuse the governing class, forgetting that in every country the common people are always as the governing class mould them. It is, however, difficult to convince foreigners who do not know the history of China how much the Literati, men like the late Marquis Tsêng Kuo-fan and others who during the late Tai-ping rebellion rallied round Her Imperial Majesty, the present Empress Dowager—*Moriamur pro Rege, Regina*,—have done for the good government of the country. But educated and thinking Englishmen who read violent abuse of the Literati in China in the foreign press, should consider the extent of the Chinese Empire, and keeping in mind the want of effective railway communication of modern Europe and the want of police in

goes on to denounce those who "are willing to cast off their own friends and associates to affiliate with foreigners and adopt foreign ways. . . . Good patriots consider such men rebellious. Intelligent men regard them as fools."

Ignorant, arrogant, suspicious as the Chinese people are, the chief opposition to foreigners does not come from them. It is the practically unanimous testimony of all who live in China that, while the materials for riot and hostility are always prepared in the minds of the common people, it is the literati, the officials and even the central Government that are responsible for all outbreaks. "At the bottom of all the risings against the missionaries," says Leroy Beaulieu, "are the mandarins and the literati. The great influence which these men exercise over the people and their abhorrence of Western civilization, is the real cause why no progress has been made in the Chinese Empire." [1] It is not difficult to understand the hostility of the officials and the educated class to Western influence. The Opium and Arrow Wars forced open the country and began to pour into it a flood of

the country, seriously ask themselves how is it possible that anything like protection of life and property would be carried out at all, if the governing class of the country were as bad as they have been painted.

"Foreigners who come to China seldom have the chance of knowing the best of the Literati in China. Like the 'Officer Korps' in Germany, the best of the aristocracy of Great Britain and the modern great literary men of France, who are the real governing class of these respective countries,—the real Literati in China are very exclusive. But Englishmen who had the opportunity of knowing the first Chinese Minister to London, the late Kuo Tung-tao, will have seen the best type and perhaps the last of the Great Literati of China. The following account given by an observant English traveller of 'Literati in Korea' with which we will conclude these remarks, will perhaps serve to give a sufficiently adequate impression of what the best type of Chinese 'Literati' can be. Captain Basil, visiting Korea in 1516, thus describes an old petty Korean magistrate:

"'The politeness and ease with which he accommodated himself, were truly admirable; and when it is considered that hitherto in all probability, he was ignorant even of our existence, his propriety of manner would seem to point not only to high rank in society, but also to a high degree of civilization in that society not confirmed by other circumstances. Be that as it may, the incident is curious as showing that however different the state of society may be in different countries, the forms of politeness are much the same in all. This polished character was very well sustained by the chief, as he was pleased with our attempts to oblige him and whatever we seemed to care for, he immediately took an interest in. He was very inquisitive and was always highly gratified whenever he discovered the use of anything which had puzzled him at first. But there was no idle curiosity, no extravagant outburst of admiration, and he certainly would be considered a man of good breeding and keen observation in any part of the world.' To foreigners who ask what can the Chinese, or as it may be called the Confucian Civilization produce, we answer: It is this."

[1] *The Awakening of the East*, p. 233.

revolutionizing forces creating a new world, a world "in which their knowledge is thrust aside as antiquated and worthless, their pride ridiculed as having no reasonable foundation, their influence antagonized, and their very means of livelihood threatened." [1] Their fight against the West is a fight for life and for the integrity of the old China of which they were a part. And as for missions, as Mr. Michie says, since the lettered and official classes "must know by instinct that the success of the propaganda would involve the solution of their traditional tenure of influence, their implacable hostility to Christianity may be inferred without reference to its merits as a religion." [2] To their feelings of patriotism are added thus the supreme concerns of personal interest. The mandarins fear the introduction of Western methods because they will render their corrupt schemes no longer practicable. They dislike the missionaries because jealous of the influence they are giving their converts by education, [3] because as a special correspondent of the London *Times* wrote, "in glaring contrast to every vice of native rule, the foreign missionary in his daily dealings with the people of his district conveys a continuous object lesson of justice and kindliness, of unselfishness and integrity." [4] Any weapon seems justifiable to men fighting as the mandarins are for their very life, and they do not hesitate to spread the vilest slanders against missionaries and all foreigners in their zeal to foster hatred of the West among the people.[5] Doubtless many of them believe these slanders themselves, so dense is their ignorance. Their conservatism and their intellectual narrowness feed each the other. "The Chinese officials and people," says Chang Chih-tung, "are obstructive as well as stupid. They understand nothing about the affairs of the world at the present time. . . . They perceive no danger nor recognize the desperate urgency of the case. Inured to no hardship, and holding merely a perfunctory office, the mandarins consider the following of others' examples a shameful procedure and look upon the slightest movement towards change with consternation. . . . Among our officials there is not one man of discernment." [6]

[1] Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Problem*,.p. 87.
[2] *China and Christianity*, p. 36.
[3] Gardner, *The Missionary Question in China*, pp. 12f.
[4] Quoted in *Indian Standard*, December, 1895.
[5] Douglas, *Society in China*, pp. 283, 285.
[6] *China's Only Hope*, pp. 55, 95, 96.

And one of the Emperor's Reform Edicts declared, "China's weakness really lies in her lazy officials and the deep-rootedness of all ancient vices."[1]

But it is not local gentry and officials only who are to blame for bitter animosity towards all from without. They understand that in this they are but carrying out the will of the central Government, which has always detested foreigners and granted each privilege with reluctance and under constraint. "As a matter of fact," writes Mr. Michie, "all the state papers and other publications of Chinese, when not dictated by foreigners under threats or written to serve a special need, are as the unloading of stores of burning hatred from the breasts of their authors."[2] The Chinese Government has never sincerely accepted the consequences of her struggles against the West. Each one has only made her more bitter and resisting. Her deliberate policy has been to "nourish revenge against foreigners for forcing her to open her doors, to persist in keeping the people in complete ignorance of the outside world, and to refuse to adopt modern methods." After the murder of Mr. Margary in Yün-nan Sir Thomas Wade reported to the British Government that "the anti-foreign feeling in the country was on the part of a large majority of the educated class as violent as ever it had been, and that the leading members of the central Government were in a great degree anti-foreign, and as bigoted opponents to all foreign intercourse as any people in the Empire."[3] There have been, of course, some movements of life and good purpose, but less than ten years ago the foreign ministers in Peking declared in conclave that "no faith could be put in the assurances of the Chinese Government."

But the burden of responsibility for ill feeling between China and the West and the sense of wrong and hatred in Chinese hearts cannot be laid wholly upon the pride and ignorance of the Chinese or the corruptness and stupid conservatism of the Government. The course of Western Governments for one hundred years has been such as to arouse and maintain the most malignant hatred. The first representatives of the West were traders who were prepared to do anything to procure and retain trade. The first war was fought on what the

[1] Translation of *Peking Gazette*, 1898, p. 53.
[2] *Missionaries in China*, p. 10.
[3] Douglas, *Society in China*, p. 274.

Chinese believed to be unjust grounds and in defence of a traffic which the Chinese abhorred.[1] To this day, opium is charged to foreign nations by all thoughtful Chinese as one count in the terrible indictment they draw against the West. "Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison. Oh, the grief and desolation it has wrought to our people!" exclaims Chang Chih-tung. "A hundred years ago the curse came upon us more blasting and deadly in its effects than the Great Flood or the scourge of the Fierce Beasts. . . . Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. To-day it is running like wild-fire. In its swift, deadly course, it is spreading devastation everywhere, weakening the minds and eating away the strength and wealth of its victims."[2] It is the fashion of some to pooh-pooh the opium trade, to say that the Chinese connived at it, and now raise their own opium, and would use the drug even if Great Britain ceased to import it. All that is beside the mark. The fact is that the Chinese people despise the curse and hate England with an unrelenting hate for having forced it upon them. And England did force it. Protest as she

[1] Mr. Gladstone frankly expressed his mind as to the war in a speech at the time in the House of Commons:

"I do not know how it can be urged as a crime against the Chinese that they refused provisions to those who refused obedience to their laws whilst residing within their territory. I am not competent to judge how long this war may last, nor how protracted may be its operations, but this I can say, that a war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with disgrace, I do not know and I have not read of. Mr. Macaulay spoke last night in eloquent terms of the British flag waving in glory at Canton, and of the animating effect produced upon the minds of our sailors by the knowledge that in no country under heaven was it permitted to be insulted. But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirits of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect for national rights, with honourable commercial enterprise, but now under the auspices of the noble lord (Palmerston) that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill, with emotion when it floats magnificently and in pride upon the breeze. . . . Although the Chinese were undoubtedly guilty of much absurd phraseology, of no little ostentatious pride, and of some excess, justice in my opinion is with them, and whilst they the pagans and semi-civilized barbarians have it, we the enlightened and civilized Christians are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and religion" (Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. I, p. 226).

In his Journal, May 14, 1840, Mr. Gladstone writes:

"I am in dread of the judgment of God upon England for our national iniquity towards China" (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227).

[2] *China's Only Hope*, p. 73.

may, the calm judgment of history persists in calling the war of 1842–3 the Opium War, and charging the odium of it upon the British Government. And wherever opium goes in China, it is a preacher of anti-foreign hate. "In this vicinity," wrote Williams from Canton in 1833, "we find that in villages where opium smokers most abound, there is the worst feeling against foreigners." [1] Legge tells of a conversation in 1879 with Kuo Sung-tao, Chinese ambassador in London, when the latter asked him which country he deemed better, China or England. "'You know,' he said to me, 'both England and China. Which country do you say is the better of the two?' I replied 'England.' He was disappointed, and added, 'I mean looking at them from the moral standpoint;—looked at from the standpoint of benevolence, righteousness and propriety, which country do you say is the better?' After some demur and fencing, I replied again, 'England.' I never saw a man more surprised. He pushed his chair back, got on his feet, took a turn across the room, and cried out, 'You say that, looked at from the moral standpoint, England is better than China! Then how is it that England insists on our taking her opium?'" [2]

When recently the *Opinions of One Hundred Physicians on the Use of Opium* was translated, and some silk merchants of Nan-tsin proposed to scatter tens of thousands of copies through the Empire, they prepared for it a preface full of denunciation of England, and described in it "side by side in all their horrors the slave trade of the eighteenth century and the opium traffic of the nineteenth." [3] It is not the sort of thing the West likes to hear—trade with it is a sacred thing not to be spoken of save with reverence—but it is in a measure true that "while other causes have cooperated to generate and sustain anti-foreign feeling, the largest single cause, the most important factor is the source, history and results of opium. . . . Every victim of the drug, and he is everywhere to be found, is a walking advertisement and argument to the evil of everything foreign. . . . China is permitted to establish no national protective tariff, but she has a national protective sentiment of inveterate hostility to any product, be it a man, a thing, or an idea coming from the Western

[1] *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, p. 202.
[2] Legge, *The Religions of China*, p. 308.
[3] DuBose, *Are Missionaries in Any Way Responsible for the Present Disturbances in China*, p. 8.

world. . . . And the main source and feeder of this sentiment is to be found in the opium traffic. The modern great Chinese wall is mainly constructed of chests of opium." [1]

The second Chinese war, called the Arrow War, only intensified Chinese hatred and sense of infamous wrong. I am not excusing China for her stupidity, her falsehood, her idiotic and drivelling diplomacy, her dogged resistance to progress, but am merely explaining how it is that she hates the West as she does. The Arrow War in its origin, as based on flimsy pretext in the Chinese view, in its course and in its result accompanied by wanton and malicious destruction of the finest treasures of the Chinese Government, and by the most humiliating conditions, filled the Chinese officials with almost irrepressible rage, which the tone of all Western intercourse since has only heightened. Speaking of the negotiations with the Chinese during the war, Wells Williams says: "They have been badgered and insulted by the English, forced to yield the privileges of their treaties by threats of war and sackage, and made to feel in every way their weakness and poverty. . . . I shall not soon lose my disgust for the overbearing conduct of Lord Elgin and his entire set." [2] Of course this was an immense advance over the blackguardism of the earlier relations of Europe with China, but the difference was in form rather than in spirit. The "rapine, murder and constant appeal to force," which, says Gorst, "chiefly characterized the commencement of Europe's commercial intercourse with China" have characterized its continuance. The West has never hesitated to trample on the rights of China and the Chinese. What justification the West had or thought it had for its course is not the question. The significant thing is that if China had not hated us before, we have given her sufficient reason for doing so.[3]

It is not by war alone that we have angered China. We have again and again dealt with her in bad faith—in the matter of the Shanghai-Wu-sung Road for which permission was issued as a horse railroad, but which was at once built for steam engines, and so run until the Chinese paid an exorbitant price for it and destroyed it,—

[1] Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*, pp. 286–288.

[2] *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, p. 280.

[3] "To a Chinaman who reviews the history of the relations with you during the past sixty years and more must you not naturally appear to be little better than robbers and pirates" (*Letters from a Chinese Official*, pp. 69, 70).

in deliberate evasion of law through abuses of the extra-territorial system by which foreign criminals have again and again gone scot free,[1] in violating her national integrity through customs conditions, in breaking treaty stipulations, in demanding frequent indemnities which a capable, civilized state would have resisted with her last resource.[2]

And the opium trade has not been the only branch of commerce that has led to anti-foreign hate. There is something wonderful about our illusions regarding trade. There are multitudes who seem to think that for trade Governments exist and peoples live, and that while heathen peoples naturally resent the coming of the missionaries, they eagerly welcome the advent of the merchant and his trade. This is a pure hallucination,—however common with newspaper writers :— "With the building of railroads, the development of mines, the opening of inland traffic, the removal of restrictions upon internal trade and residence of foreign merchants, some opportunity will be afforded to live down the prejudice of the natives as it has been overcome in treaty ports. It is not my observation that the presence of the foreign merchant in any part of China is an element of discord."[3] And again, "It should be the policy of the missionary to follow close upon the trail of this class of forerunner of civilization, which has never advanced beyond China's need for it. In other words, the missionary should not be the forerunner, but the follower. Let the merchant first prepare the Chinese mind for the reception of innovations of a material kind, the good of some of which he has already actually experienced, and the innovation of religion will not appear in his sight so impossible and undesirable a thing."[4] These are the opinions of United States Consuls or ex-consuls. They represent that solemn traditional judgment, worse than any

[1] Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Question*, pp. 243ff.

[2] "Occidentals, while loudly accusing the Chinese of arrogance, are themselves constantly guilty of the arrogance of refusing to observe just rules and submit to reasonable restrictions, which the Chinese have the right, but not the power to enforce. Many of these Occidentals even labour under the delusion that they thereby uphold the honour of their respective countries. Such conduct can only be stopped by plain exposure, and by the just and strong condemnation of all right-minded men throughout the civilized West" (Meadows, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions*, pp. 322f.).

[3] *The Independent*, October 25, 1900, Art. "The Complexity of the Chinese Problem," pp. 2550–3.

[4] *The Independent*, August 9, 1900, Art. "The Foreigners in China," pp. 1902f.

missionary dogma and more arbitrary, that the Chinese people are eager for Western commerce and industrial innovation. It is a profound mistake. Every port opened to trade in China has been forced open by war, or by diplomatic pressure, or in consequence of some outrage as an indemnity, and no one who knows the ports will imagine that "the prejudice of the natives has been overcome" in them. As soon as the news arrived in Shahsi that it was to be opened as a port, the city was placarded with anti-foreign proclamations. But there were missionaries already there—with no anti-foreign placards greeting their coming or attending their stay. The fact is that the Chinese people as a whole and the Chinese Government do not want foreign trade. It is an offence to them that it should be thrust upon them. And they have two reasons for not wanting it that involve no discredit to us, and one that does. (1) In the first place, they are convinced that the balance of trade will be against them, and that they will become indebted to Western nations.[1] The silver money, they believe, will go out of the country and the whole internal fiscal system will be disarranged. As a Chinese scholar said long ago: "Those who come from Western lands to trade with us, do all that they may get some profit from us and snatch from us the means of gain." (2) In the second place, the introduction of trade overturns the Chinese industrial system. Each invention or labour saving contrivance brought in, throws many Chinese out of employment, creating discontent. One cause of the Tai-ping Rebellion is said to have been the diversion of so much of the silk and tea trade from Canton to Shanghai, leaving a great deal of unrest and hosts of idle men to express it in the south.[2] The riots on the Yang-tse in 1891, were due not so much to the vile literature poured out from Hu-nan against Christianity as to the destruction of the business of the Chinese junks by

[1] "Left to ourselves, we should never have sought intercourse with the West. We have no motive to do so; for we desire neither to proselytize nor to trade.

"Economically, as well as politically, we are sufficient to ourselves. What we consume we produce, and what we produce we consume. We do not require, and we have not sought, the products of other nations; and we hold it no less imprudent than unjust to make war on strangers in order to open their markets. A society, we conceive, that is to be politically stable must be economically independent; and we regard an extensive foreign trade as necessarily a source of social demoralization" (*Letters from a Chinese Official*, pp. 11, 12).

[2] Reid, *Sources of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China*, pp. 62f.

the advent of steamers which absorbed the carrying trade. And the same causes were operative in the Boxer Uprising. The railroads were sure to throw hundreds of thousands of men, carters, boatmen and others out of employment, and some of the firmest supporters of the movement were from villages which would be deprived of all means of livelihood by the progress of Western civilization. "A large number of the Boxers around Peking consisted of boatmen, barrowmen and country-weavers, who believed that steam and machinery robbed them of their daily bread,—hence they joined in tearing up the railways, in cutting down the telegraph poles, and in putting to death all those who were found wearing foreign machine-made clothing." [1] We ought surely to be able to sympathize with their alarm, and to appreciate the position of the Chinese Government. China is an immense country, with an intricate civilization so delicately adjusted that its people manage to live under it, but multitudes of them on the very edge. The desire of the Government is not to produce labour-saving devices, but to divide up the labour among more labourers. Western civilization crashes against this delicate balance of industrial organization, and shatters it in ruins. It means

[1] *Thirteenth Report Society for the Distribution of Christian Knowledge*, p. 28; See also article in *The Spirit of Missions*, September, 1900, "Anxious Days in Hankow and Wuchang," pp. 587–590. "In Moukden, when the missionaries had fled and the converts disappeared, the Boxers in their thoroughness sought out all the shops dealing in any kind of foreign ware. The few Christian merchants had been already treated as foreigners; but the paper merchants were now to be dealt with for touching foreign goods. Kerosene is now very largely used in Moukden, and all over the country. The former native luminants were everywhere discarded and the bright foreign light reigned in their stead. The shops selling kerosene—which were usually large stores selling much else—were visited by the Boxers. The kerosene was all confiscated. Very heavy fines were imposed on the merchants—as heavy indeed as the extent of their resources would admit. The people were everywhere forbidden to use the article produced by the foreigner. The people here are very partial to a bright brass button made in Birmingham and sold by the hundred thousand, instead of the native button of coiled tape. The brass buttons are of numerous and excellent designs to catch the native eye. Every wearer of these buttons was stopped on the street. The obnoxious garment was torn off and cast into the fire. In a little while no brass button could anywhere be seen. Cottons, both English and American, find a great market in this city. The best and richest stores carry on the sale of these precious bales. Every such store was attacked. Every bale of foreign cotton or of foreign cloth was seized and thrown on the street, burnt, or taken away by the Boxers. Many small junks laden with these cottons, were found in the river; their cargoes were all thrown into the river, burnt or seized for the private use of the Boxers. Natives did not dare to wear foreign cotton" (Ross, *The Boxers in Manchuria*, p. 3).

money to us. We do not pause to think of the misery and suffering it means to millions in China, who look upon us not as benefactors but as the most hateful enemies.[1] (3) And in the third place, with many noble exceptions, the class of men who are introducing these changes and who are thus demolishing the fabric of China's economic society, are not qualified to pacify and conciliate the people. They do not learn the language. They do not mingle with the people. And there is among them a considerable minority whose lives "are an outrage on the best ideas of the natives and a libel on Western civilization," who "do more to prepare the way for corrupt officials, bent on stirring up the ignorant people of China, than all the mistakes of all the missionaries put together."[2] The presence in China of boorish, hot-tempered, licentious men who kick Chinese servants and live with Chinese mistresses is glossed over by apologists for Western trade in China, but it is not hidden from the eyes of the Chinese. "Is it likely to make the people of China either respect or like us," writes a correspondent of the *Shanghai Mercury*, from Chung-king in Western China, "to introduce houses of ill-fame peopled from America right in the centre of China at Hankow, and in the far north at Tientsin, besides having turned what used to be called the model settlement into a perfect hotbed of vice, so that Chinese merchants up country, even when they see their way to making great profits, object to sending their sons there until they are of an age to have their principles established."[3] There is nothing fanciful or imaginary in this. The careless conduct of the trading class has again and again brought on riots and fed the anti-foreign feeling of the Chinese.[4]

[1] "The introduction of new methods means, at any rate for the moment, so much dislocation of labour, so much poverty, suffering, and starvation. Of this your own industrial history gives abundant proof.

"I, at least, cannot contemplate without the gravest apprehension the disorders which must inevitably ensue among our population of four hundred millions upon the introduction, on a large scale, of Western methods of industry. You will say that the disorder is temporary; to me it appears, in the West, to be chronic" (*Letters from a Chinese Official*, pp. 34, 35).

[2] New York *Sun*, September 4, 1900, Editorial, "A Good and True Word for the Missionaries in China."

[3] Quoted in *Japan Weekly Mail*, August 25, 1900.

[4] See *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, pp. 112f; Holcombe, *The Real Chinese Problem*, pp. 245f.; Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, p. 447; Reid, *Sources of Anti-Foreign Feeling in China*, p. 39; *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, October, 1900, pp. 761f.

It must in candour be added now that the missionary enterprise must be included in any statement of the causes of anti-foreign feeling. It has caused such feeling through the mistakes of individuals and through the mistaken policies of some missions, and through the confusion of the enterprise as a whole in the Chinese mind with the general political aggression of the West.

(1) Individuals are sure to be found in so large a company as the 2,950[1] Protestant and 759 Catholic missionaries in China who will err in judgment and some in spirit, and create ill-will. These are a comparatively small proportion, however. Not all the missionaries are great men and women, but practically all are in China because of a disinterested love for the Chinese; and after a reasonably thorough examination as to their good sense and general capacity and Christian spirit. Any blunders of exceptional individuals are more than counterbalanced by the pacificatory influence of the missionaries as a whole. "Throughout the country 'where the foreigner is otherwise unknown,'" says an editorial in the New York *Sun* (September 4, 1900) already quoted "he is first introduced by the person of a missionary who lives quietly a moral life, so that all his immediate neighbours on close acquaintance acquire a favourable knowledge of an individual foreigner, and from that particular knowledge, argue favourably in general of the foreigners."

(2) The mistaken policies charged against some missionaries, and by some against the entire missionary body are chiefly two, (*a*) an alienating requirement of converts to break too radically with their old life, especially in the matter of ancestor worship, and local taxation for idolatrous purposes, and (*b*) a protection of converts in the matter of general taxation and litigation.[2]

(3) The whole missionary movement is declared to have stood in the eyes of the Chinese as the forerunner of Western political aggression. The appeals from missionaries to their consuls and ministers and the use made by European Governments of outrages upon missionaries to extort fresh concessions confirmed this view.[3] "Some of the mandarins," says the Catholic Bishop of Ning-po, "really are sincere in their suspicions of the motives that bring the missionaries to

[1] 1,233 of these men, and 1,727 women.

[2] *The Cosmopolitan*, December, 1900, Art. by Sir Robert Hart, "The Peking Legations," p. 122.

[3] Reinsch, *World Politics*, pp. 146f.

China. Being Pagans, they cannot comprehend that these priests come solely to save souls without any motive of self-interest. Again, the Catholic missions being under the protection of the French minister, the mandarins imagine that the missionaries are political agents for the subversion of China. Therefore they entertain a blind hatred of the Europeans, who by their presence desecrate the sacred soil of China, and by their teaching trouble the shade of Confucius, preaching a doctrine he did not preach and a religion he did not know." [1]

(4) It is further said that the missionary enterprise creates ill-feeling by attacking the cherished opinions and customs of the Chinese, and that this is not the error of individuals or individual missions, but the genius of the movement, that it carries with it the odium of illegitimacy, its presence in the interior of China being illegal, that it is detested by the officials, and is in reality simply an organized revo lution aimed at the integrity of Chinese institutions under the cowardly protection of extra-territorial rights, that in essence the Boxer Movement was a gigantic and infuriated attempt to shake off the irritating and detested missionary, and that in its blind fury it struck at merchant and minister also.

Now enough has been said already to indicate that the anti-foreign feeling of the Chinese has deeper roots than antagonism to the missionaries, although it is acknowledged that some of the hostility of the people is due to it, and I shall pause here only to suggest several points. (1) The Chinese officials who are the responsible persons in all anti-foreign movements have not the slightest religious zeal in the matter. When they pretend to have it it is for the sake of playing upon the emotions of the people. They never charge the missionary with speaking against Confucius. The officials, as one who has lived half a century in China declares, "are not given to religious sentimentalism; it would surprise them very much to have such a character imputed to them. . . . At the open ports he (the Confucian scholar) does not trouble his brain to ask what men believe. Nor would it be different in the interior if it were not that it is a foreigner that is doing it. It is the foreigner himself that he wants to keep out." [2] Ever since

[1] Reynaud, *Another China*, p. 25.

[2] The Rev. William Ashmore, D. D., in the *Chinese Recorder*, November 1895, article, "Is this Antagonism against the Missionary because he is a Missionary or because he is a Foreigner?"

the Chinese Government discovered that the presence of the missionary in the interior was being used by the foreign Governments as a ground for urging that the right of residence in the country should be given general extension with the extra-territorial privilege maintained, the conservative party in Peking, supported by the great mass of the officials throughout the empire, have been trying to get the missionary out of the interior. Their hostility has been secular, however, and the reasons for their desire to exclude him have rested upon those grounds for anti-foreign feeling which are purely political and commercial.[1] (2) Wherever the Chinese have looked beyond the political aspects of the presence of the missionary in the interior, they have laid aside their apprehensions. Mr. Michie points out that their fears would die if they would or could observe "the gentler fruits of Christian teaching;" "for they would see in many rural villages throughout the country, the leaven of the new faith working its way in the silent manner in which the eternal forces always do work; and they would see if they had eyes for such things, evidences of amelioration in the lives of the people, cleanliness and kindliness spreading, intelligence awakened, the desire for knowledge implanted, reading taking the place of gambling in the cottages, and the conditions of existence sweetened, brightened and elevated for many a poor family."[2] Numerous edicts might be cited to show that whenever the Chinese have looked into missionary work, or where they have observed it in its own true character and not in its apparent political implications, they have heartily commended it. It is sufficient to quote simply from two of the last imperial edicts dealing with the subject. In 1891, the Tsung-li Yamen presented to the throne a memorial stating that "the fundamental principles of the Christian religion are to educate mankind to lead a virtuous life," declaring that the readiness of the missionaries "to help and to benefit the people is deserving of every acknowledgment" and asking for a stringent edict in support of the missionaries. In reply, the edict of June 13, 1891, was issued, declaring "The propagation of Christianity by foreigners is provided for by treaty and imperial decrees have been issued from time to time to the provincial authorities to protect the missionaries. . . . The doctrine of Christianity has

[1] Williams, *History of China*, pp. 432–434.
[2] *China and Christianity*, p. 40.

for its purpose the teaching of men to do good." Yet again, in 1899, on the very eve of the Boxer outbreak, the Dowager Empress issued an edict in her own name, in which she spoke of "the false sentiment of treating the missionaries as enemies," and added, "The missionaries of the different nations come here and preach to our people what is in their books, and though each has a distinct doctrine, the common aim of all is to induce people to do good and to be good." In an article in which he quoted the edict of 1891, Colonel Denby, formerly United States Minister at Peking, said: "Thus historical facts, also, tend to show that the causes of the recent riots must be looked for elsewhere than in the occupation of China by missionaries." [1] (3) Any candid and intelligent study of the whole situation will show that while the attitude of the missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, on the question of ancestral worship, and the course of some, especially the Catholic missionaries, in the matter of political rights and protection of converts, have not met with the approval of the Chinese, and have created, much more in the case of the latter than of the former, ill-will among the people and officials, yet with a certain reservation regarding the second point mentioned, neither anti-foreign feeling in general nor the particular outbreak of it in the Boxer Uprising can be charged to missionaries. While his testimony is pretty strong, stronger than I care now to press, surely the judgment of Dr. Hohai, barrister at law, member of the Legislative Council of Hongkong, and brother-in-law of the former Chinese minister to Washington, Wu Ting-fang, is reliable.

In *An Open Letter on the Situation*, addressed at the time of the Uprising to Mr. John Bull he said,

> "You have been told, both officially and privately, that the whole affair was directly or indirectly caused by foreign missionaries and their converts. This is absolutely false, and don't you believe it. Your missionaries with very few exceptions, are good and worthy men, and if left to themselves will make more friends than enemies in China. But they have always been hated by the mandarins and their underlings, by the literati and expectant officials, for bringing to the people of China not only religion, but also enlightenment and civilization, thus rendering them less amenable to the arbitrary and oppressive policies of their superiors, and more difficult to be squeezed and fleeced by their corrupt rulers. . . . The present rising of the so-called Boxers against missionaries

[1] *The Independent*, September 29, 1900, pp. 2311–13.

and native Christians has been got up and supported by the high mandarins to drive out the missionaries. . . . I wish also to disabuse your mind of some of the ridiculous charges made against your missionaries, which seem to have obtained a certain degree of credence among some of your leading men—the foreign missionaries have been charged with having committed acts of indiscretion inasmuch as they frequently preached against the ancient beliefs of the Chinese, as for instance, ancestral worship, and by such indiscreet acts they have stirred up the wrath of the Celestials against them. I beg to tell you that this is not a fact, and that the anger of the Chinese people is not so easily and unreasonably aroused. The mere speaking against a thing has never been regarded by the Chinese as a sufficient cause for hostile action or demonstration. Of course it would be different if the missionaries sought to force their doctrines upon the natives, or endeavoured forcibly to prevent them from worshipping their ancestors. The Chinese Buddhist priests have ever preached against marriage, a very old and important institution amongst the Chinese. Have you ever heard that the people of China rose against them for that? . . . The Mohammedans have ever preached against the eating of pork, a very old and universal practice among the Chinese;—for this were they ever attacked by an infuriated mob? . . . The Chinese people are not so unreasonable as that. However, if for the purpose of mining or constructing a railway you were foolish enough to remove their ancestral graves without previously obtaining free and full consent, a serious disturbance might easily be created. . . . Again the missionaries have been charged with another indiscretion, namely, that they made no separation of the sexes in their places of worship, and that they and their converts mixed freely together in company, which was regarded as an offence against Chinese customs and propriety and so excited their ire. This is also a frivolous charge. The Chinese themselves, both men and women often mingle together in worshipping at some of their temples. . . . In the streets of Shanghai you will often see men and women undoubtedly of Chinese nationality driving together in the same carriage, and in the native gardens there male and female mingle in the most unconcerned manner possible, and they excite no ill-remarks or resentment from the public. . . . It is alleged that they (the missionaries) have from time to time interfered in the litigations and with the dispensation of justice between native Christians and their co-nationals. This is a serious charge if true. But first of all show me a single yamen in the whole of China whose justice is dispensed equitably between the litigants without fear or favour. Is it not notorious that every native tribunal is tainted with corruption and bribery? The biggest purse will always win the suit. The suitors are not allowed to get legal experts to represent them in their cases, and the mandarins can deal with the matter coming before them in any way they choose. Under these circumstances it is quite possible, even probable, that some of the native converts who have suffered injustice did lay their cases and their complaints before their respective foreign spiritual advisers, and request them to make representation, directly or indirectly, to the proper authorities for redress and justice.

It is also quite possible that some good-natured and zealous missionaries, sympathizing with them regarding their grievance, did make appeals on their behalf, and perchance obtain justice, too. This is not interfering with the dispensation of justice, but assisting in procuring it. After all, please remember that this is only an unproven charge. The Chinese officials all well know that the foreign missionaries have no right to interfere in any legal case between native Christians and their countrymen, and if they had a clear conscience and a clean hand they could easily and at any time send the interfering missionaries about their business. During recent years we have heard a great deal of this charge against the missionaries, but I cannot recollect having heard that in a single case this charge has been substantiated and brought home to the offenders. It is easy of course to make accusations, especially when the accuser wishes to find some excuse for his hatred of the accused. . . . The present crisis is then, after all, the direct outcome of the anti-foreign spirit and policy of the central Government."

As I have said, this seems to me pretty strong and some missionaries have erred in this matter of interference in lawsuits, but the judgment of one of the most capable and prudent missionaries in China, Dr. John Ross of Manchuria, is an absolutely sound and defensible judgment, in which he declares that the assertion that this disastrous anti-foreign movement "has been in any way or in any sense caused by the teaching or preaching of missionaries is but the evidence that the person affirming is totally ignorant at once of the Chinese and of missionaries."[1] The real burden of responsibility for anti-foreign feeling in China and for its outburst in the Boxer massacres cannot be laid upon missionaries. It rests where the preceding discussion has tried to show it belongs.[2]

[1] *The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland*, September, 1900, p. 264.

[2] "Had the missionaries been congregated in the ports like the bulk of Europeans in China they would not have been singled out for exceptionally evil treatment. The missionaries are the only class which, as a class of foreigners, treat the Chinese with the respect due to human beings. In all other classes of the community are to be found persons who treat the Chinese with a brutality which is possible only because the Chinese dare not retaliate. Of this difference of treatment the Chinese are by no means unaware. The stories of the evil deeds of foreigners, which are circulated from village to village all the country over and are the cause of many an outburst against the mannerless 'Kueitz,' are stories which never or very rarely originate from the doings of the missionary. Not the preacher of the Gospel brought this trouble upon the politician; it is the politician who has been the cause of the terrible sufferings of the missionary body. . . .

"But that missionaries were last year attacked because of the doctrines they are in China to preach, whether Protestant or Catholic, I entirely deny and with-

But granting that the real causes of anti-foreign feeling in general were those I have described, it remains to point out the causes which precipitated the chronic ill will of China against the West in this terrible movement.

1. First was the overthrow of the Reform movement of 1898, the return of the Dowager Empress and the reactionary party to power, and the wave of conservative bigotry that swept over the land. It is impossible to convey in a few words any adequate conception of the significance of this movement. The young Emperor long overshadowed by the Dowager Empress, had taken the administration into his own hands. He surrounded himself with young and progressive men. He studied Western civilization and religion, purchasing from the depository of the Bible Society copies of the Scriptures and obtaining books and papers regarding Western practices of government and customs of life. The China-Japan War had revealed to him and to many the weakness of China and the superiority of the West. For a time even the old Dowager Empress must have felt this. A spirit of discontent with China's position grew to intensity, and the conviction that great changes were necessary became overwhelming. Reform clubs were established, and foreign books were translated into Chinese and poured over the country, and missionaries and missionary presses were unable to meet the demand. Chang Chih-tung, formerly a bitterly anti-foreign and conservative man, in charge of the most bigoted and anti-foreign province of Hu-nan, changed front completely and swung the province with him. The Emperor, his tutor and other advisers whom he gathered about him, did not accept the most radical reform proposals, but thoroughly sympathized with and encouraged the general movement. The whole empire felt the thrill of it. Governors established schools, confiscated temples and turned them into colleges and employed foreigners, chiefly missionaries, to organize them. Mission schools and churches were

out qualification. The attacks were made upon missionaries because they were foreigners, because they were members of those communities which have in politics and in social life insulted and despised the proud Chinese who did not dare to resent the indignities heaped upon them, till they were roused to madness by the events of Kiao-chou, and others following of a similar character. Missions, missionaries, and converts suffered on account of the aggressive politics of the West. Justice, even when stern and cruel, the Chinese respect; but injustice by superior power they hate, even while they dare not protest" (Ross, *The Boxers in Manchuria*, p. 2).

thronged. The missionaries were besieged for advice and for plans for the advancement of reform. The pace of the reform grew as the glories of a regenerated China unfolded before the men who began at last to see that wisdom had not been buried in the grave of Confucius twenty-five centuries before. Kang Yü-wei, a radically progressive man, a scholar, a doctrinaire, earnest and courageous, thoroughly in sympathy with Western civilization though naively ignorant of many of the practical problems of political administration, became the Emperor's most trusted counsellor, and in the winter of 1897–8, edicts began to appear which indicated that the enormous machinery of China's Government was swinging out of its old grooves. "A simple knowledge of the Classics," said the Decree of February 15, 1898, "is not enough to fit men nowadays for important posts in the Imperial Government." After this with increasing rapidity edict after edict appeared attacking old abuses, destroying at a blow ancient governmental institutions, and introducing new and revolutionary principles. Among these edicts were the following:

(1) To abolish the essay system of examination which had been in vogue for the last five hundred years.

(2) To establish a university for the study of Western science in Peking.

(3) To convert temples into schools for Western education.

(4) To establish a translation board whereby books on Western learning were to be translated into Chinese.

(5) To establish a patent office for the encouragement of everything that is pure and useful.

(6) To protect Christianity without any further evasions.

(7) To make the reform paper—*Chinese Progress*—the official organ of the Government.

(8) To abolish useless offices both in Peking and the provinces.

(9) To have young Manchus study foreign languages and travel abroad.

On September 12, 1898, a great and comprehensive edict appeared which closed with a statement of the imperial will that the reform should be made known to all, and an astounding and unqualified rejection of the old position of Chinese sufficiency and exclusivism. "We have considered and studied the benefit of Western learning, and morning and night our heart is filled with the desire to introduce

these reforms into our country." But the reform had moved too fast to carry with it a sufficiently large body of officials or influential men. While at first it was supported by many parties, it broke away from all but the more radical, and in September, by a coup d'état in the palace, all of whose details we shall never know, the Emperor was forced to resign the reins of government again to the Dowager Empress and Kang Yü-wei and his fellow-reformers either were executed or obliged to flee for their lives. The Western Powers might easily have intervened to prevent the usurpation of the Dowager Empress and to retain the Emperor in power. One day of Burlingame might have changed the destiny of China. It was an opportunity greater even than that presented in the Tai-ping Rebellion, to secure a complete transformation of the character of the Government, and to do it under conditions so favourable that no one would ever have dared to predict that they would arise in China; but, through short-sightedness, want of cooperation, and the desire on the part of some to prevent China from becoming a great, powerful, enlightened State, the ministers at Peking allowed the reform era to close and the worst reaction against foreign influence ever seen in China to be introduced. "We are of opinion," said the reactionary party, as it returned to power, in the edict it issued in the Emperor's name, "that the best way will be to revert to the old order of things." That was what happened with a vengeance. The reign of terror that set in, the war against all innovation and reform, the tone of exclusivism and reactionism in the imperial utterances served notice upon the whole Empire that the spirit of friendliness towards the West which the Reformers had inculcated was at an end, and that the walls were to go up again where they had been broken down. The Reform movement was a great nationalistic movement intended to draw the West into China. The movement that grew out of the overthrow of the Reform movement, was a great nationalistic movement designed to drive every vestige of the West out of China and to cleanse the Celestial Empire from its pollution. The overthrow of the reform era prepared China for the great movement animated by anti-foreign hate.

2. One of the first edicts of the Government after the close of the reform era, refers to the great floods caused by the overflow of the Yellow River in Shan-tung, and to the poverty and distress caused

by them.[1] Now Shan-tung is a poor province at the best. The English, Irish and Scotch consume annually seventeen bushels of grain per inhabitant, the Germans sixteen, the French twenty-five, and the Russians twenty. In Shan-tung the people would have only eighteen and one-half bushels if every square inch of the province were cultivated, leaving the people themselves no standing ground and assuming that all is arable. As a matter of fact, the Shan-tung people have about eight and three-fourths bushels a year per inhabitant. The people of England, France and Germany have each two and one-sixth acres to cultivate. The Shan-tung man has one and one-fifth.[2] A catastrophe like the Yellow River overflow causes suffering we cannot appreciate. It left a great section of the province in want and destitution, therefore in discontent and turbulence, ready for any movement which would give them occupation and food,—all the better if it did not drive them back to the wretched monotone of their interminable struggle with the soil for a bare subsistence. The floods also produced conditions in the matter of social order which begat associations capable of easy transformation into military companies and predisposed to such transformation.

3. In West Shan-tung especially, there had long been feuds between the Chinese and the Roman Catholic Christians. There were various causes for this, chiefly the feeling on the part of the Chinese that the Christians through the protection of the priests were given advantages which they used unfairly. This general discontent was immensely increased in Shan-tung and elsewhere in China, by the acceptance by the Catholic missionaries of the political rank and status accorded them by the imperial decree of March 15, 1899, secured by the French minister. This decree decided in favour of the Catholic missionaries a long standing controversy between them and Chinese local officials and viceroys, gave bishops an equal rank and dignity with viceroys, and lesser dignitaries in the Church rank and dignity with specified lower grades of Chinese officials, and authorized all to demand to see the officials of corresponding rank, and to take up civil business with them and negotiate and finish it.[3] This was a

[1] Imperial Edict of October 2, 1898.

[2] *Records of First Shan-tung Conference*, pp. 18f.

[3] *A Memorial and an Imperial Rescript, Published on the 15th of March, 1899:*

"Churches of the Catholic religion (the propagation of which has been long since authorized by the Imperial Government) having been built at this time in

concession which infuriated many of the Chinese officials, and which, moreover, in the most dangerous and harmful way, represented the missionary movement to the Chinese as political and not religious. The Protestant missionaries unanimously refused to accept any of the

all the provinces of China, we long to see the Christians and the people live in peace, and, in order to make their protection more easy, it has been agreed that local authorities shall exchange visits with missionaries under the conditions indicated in the following articles:

"1. In the different degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, bishops being in rank and dignity the equals of viceroys and governors, it is agreed to authorize them to demand to see viceroys and governors. In the case of a bishop being called home on business, or of his death, the priest charged to replace the bishop will be authorized to demand to see the viceroy and governor. Vicars-general and archdeacons will be authorized to demand to see provincial treasurers and judges, and taotais. Other priests will be authorized to demand to see prefects of the first and second class, independent prefects, sub-prefects, and other functionaries. Viceroys, governors, provincial treasurers and judges, taotais, prefects of the first and second class, independent prefects, sub-prefects, and other functionaries will naturally respond, according to their rank, with the same courtesies.

"2. Bishops will draw up a list of priests whom they will charge specially with the treatment of business and with relations with the authorities, indicating their names and the locality of their missions. They will send this list to the viceroy or governor, who will order their subordinates to receive them conformably to this regulation. (The priests who shall ask to see the local authorities, or who shall be specially designated to treat of business should be Europeans. However, where a European priest is not sufficiently acquainted with the Chinese language he may for the occasion invite a Chinese priest to accompany him and lend him assistance as interpreter.)

"3. It is unnecessary for bishops who reside outside the cities to go from a distance to the provincial capital to ask to be received by the viceroy or governor, when they have no business with him. When a new viceroy or governor arrives at his post, or when a bishop is appointed or arrives for the first time, or again on the occasion of felicitations for the New Year and the principal feasts, bishops will be authorized to write private letters to viceroys and governors and send them their cards. Viceroys and governors will respond with similar courtesies. Other priests who may be shifted or arrive for the first time, may, according to their rank, ask to see provincial treasurers and judges, taotais, prefects of the first and second class, independent prefects, sub-prefects, and other functionaries, when they are provided with a letter from their bishop.

"4. When a mission affair, grave or important, shall come up unexpectedly in any province, the bishop and the missionaries of the place should ask for the intervention of the minister or consuls of the power to which the Pope has confided the protection of religion. These last will regulate and finish the matter either with the Tsung-li Yamen or the local authorities. In order to avoid protracted proceedings, the bishop and the missionaries have equal right to address themselves at once to the local authorities, with whom they may negotiate the matter and finish it. Whenever a bishop or a missionary shall come to see a mandarin on business, the latter is bound not to delay the negotiation, to be conciliatory, and to arrive at a solution.

"5. The local authorities shall give timely warning to the people of the place and exhort them earnestly to live on good terms with the Christians; they must not cherish hatred and cause trouble. Bishops and priests shall in the same way

privileges accorded by the decree. Its issue, however, and its acceptance by the Catholics who alone were mentioned in it, inflamed the already bitter feelings of the Chinese officials and of such of the people as were informed of such things, and added another element of preparation to the conditions in Shan-tung.[1]

4. There were certain other powerful reasons for ill feeling in Shan-tung. In 1897, two German Catholic missionaries were murdered by a mob belonging to the Big Knife Society. Bishop Anzer,

exhort the Christians to devote themselves to well-doing, so as to maintain the good name of the Catholic religion, and act so that the people will be contented and grateful. Wherever a suit takes place between the people and the Christians, the local authorities shall hear and decide it equitably; the missionaries must not mix themselves up in it and show partiality in giving their protection; so that the people and the Christians may live in peace" (*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, for the Year Ending September 30th, 1900*, pp. 55–57).

[1] Something of the spirit of the Roman Catholic missions is indicated in the following naive letter from Bishop Hofman, O. F. M., vicar apostolic, of Shan-si, written after the troubles:

"After an enforced absence of nearly eleven months, I have just returned to Lou-ngan Fu. We came back with truly extraordinary ceremony, and more honours were paid me than are accorded to a viceroy. All the mandarins, great and little, waited for me outside the town; and on both sides of the road the villagers lined the way. A general and staff, at the head of three hundred soldiers, who came with two mandarins as far as the bishop's residence in Ho-nan to meet me, formed an escort, in which many Christians were prominent, happy and proud, banners flying and music playing. I am sure Shan-si never witnessed such a celebration before.

"What did it all mean? you will ask. Because when I was first asked to return I found the situation too uncertain. The mandarins had done nothing towards establishing peace, and the people were emboldened to show open hostility. On this, one of the European ministers set vigorously to work, and the governor of the province finding himself threatened, did everything in his power to straighten matters out. Very soon the aspect of affairs changed entirely, and I could come back without risk.

"I now have to live and conduct myself with the ceremony of a viceroy. I have three hundred soldiers at my disposal, or at the command of the fathers. What a singular thing is the apostolic life! All this is directly contrary to my religious character, and puts me to great trouble. But the honour of the Church requires it and I cannot avoid it. We have suffered too many petty annoyances and insults; too many injuries and illegal oppression, to pass the sponge over them all without some sort of reparation.

"The most trying part of the whole matter is our daily intercourse with the mandarins, who all now appear our best friends. Yet we can submit to it, because it is counterbalanced by their willingness to help direct our affairs, which present unforeseen difficulties and are often very perplexing. I shall not have long to support this new dignity, however. My responsibilities have become too heavy for my advanced age, and the Holy Father has kindly accepted my resignation" (*The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, January and February, 1902, p. 18.)

the Catholic bishop, was in Holland at the time. As the German Government had assumed protectorate over the Catholic missionaries in Shan-tung, the missionaries being German and not French, Anzer hastened to Berlin, and as Chancellor Von Bülow said in the German Parliament, November 8, 1898, he "unequivocally declared that the seizing of Kiao-chou was a question of life and death for the continuation of the Chinese missionary work." Nothing loath, the German Government promptly seized the bay, and demanded with it extortionate concessions. Now the Chinese people have little patriotism for their dynasties, but an unutterable love for their own soil. The one longing of the Chinese who journey to foreign lands is to go home to rest in the earth of the fatherland. Besides, the Chinaman knows what is justice and what is infamous wrong, even when a great nation practices it under the cover of religion. "Hence," as Dr. Ross says, "when the Germans landed in Shan-tung and annexed the port of Kiao-chou, a cry of indignation arose all over China, such as I never heard before." [1] On the heels of the German occupation of Kiao-chou, came the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia, of Wei Hai Wei and Kow-loon by Great Britain. The Chinese Government did not have a single port left wholly its own where it could anchor its fleet. The world began to laugh. Books and newspapers openly discussed the partitionment of China among the Western powers.[2] A frenzy of fear and of patriotism, with which it seems to me every true man must have a profound sympathy, thrilled through China from Peking to Canton, from the sea to Tibet and the Mongolian deserts; and instead of marvelling that the Northern provinces broke out into outrage and war, I wonder increasingly at the moderation, the good sense, the self-restraint with which the other provinces were held aloof, and the Western nations allowed to advance to Peking and

[1] *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland*, September 1, 1900, p. 264.

[2] This cool and colossal proposal of Sir Richard Temple is sufficient illustration:

"These British communities are pressing slowly but as we hope securely on the great Yang-tse valley from far Shanghai on the East and Mandalay on the West. From Mandalay there is now a railway to Rangoon near the sea. So the main British line of the future apparently marked out by destiny, is from the Bay of Bengal at Rangoon to the Pacific Ocean near Shanghai, a distance of about 3,000 miles right athwart the southeast part of the British coast from sea to sea, one of the finest lines for the march of empires to be found in Asia" (Temple, *Birds' Eye View of British India*, p. xxiv).

to the suppression of the Uprising. When we add to the wrongs which China suffered before the troubles finally came, the barbarities perpetrated by the troops of the West, I think we must confess that the great mass of the Chinese people, thanks to the strong men who governed them, present a picture of docility and submission which would never have been witnessed in any Western nation subjected to a like test.

What I have said hardly presents a full view of the situation in Shan-tung from which the Boxers rose. The seizure of Kiao-chou was followed by a German official and commercial invasion of Shan-tung—an invasion which rode rough shod over the prejudices of the people, ran railroad embankments across their rice-fields, annihilating irrigation rights upon which the livelihood of whole villages depended and sanctioned by the recognition of unnumbered generations as of most sacredly valid title, and often without one cash of compensation, struck down coolies at their work like dogs, and murdered in cold blood men and women, and publicly whipped and insulted Chinese officials. A simple record of the behaviour of the Germans in Shan-tung, makes a justification of the Boxer Uprising which almost conceals its criminality, its stupidity and its blind injustice. And the Russians in Manchuria and French and Hindu troops in Chih-li are alleged to have murdered more helpless people than the Boxers killed, or than were slain by fanatical or evil men in Ho-nan, Shan-si, and wherever else Christians fell before the fierce anti-foreign wrath of an ignorant and indignant people. It is no answer to say that the Boxer Uprising was an outrage. A heathen outrage does not justify the Christian outrage that precipitated it, or the Christian outrage that avenged it.[1]

[1] "We ourselves believe that there has been a great deal of exaggeration; there always is exaggeration in such cases. But it has not been all exaggeration. There has been a solid substratum of terrible facts. With what face are we to denounce Boxer atrocities when such things stand to the credit of the Europeans themselves? It sends a thrill of horror through every white man's bosom to learn that forty missionary women and twenty-five little children were butchered by the Boxers, but Mr. Taguchi, whose testimony is beyond impeachment, and who speaks in the sequel of investigations personally conducted by himself, tells us, in the columns of *Keizai Zasshi*, that in T'ung-Chou alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance and there was no fighting, five hundred and seventy-three Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities they had suffered. Women of the lower orders fared similarly, he tells, at the hands of the soldiers, but were not unwilling to survive their shame. It is all very well to advance the stock excuse that among thou-

I believe that what has been set forth in this chapter gives a fair account of the causes of the Boxer Uprising which brought the nineteenth century to a close in China amid scenes of ruin and destruction. It will be seen as time goes on that it was not mission stations and merchants' hongs and legations alone that were destroyed; but that in the fury of the Uprising, other things, too, were destroyed, evil and good; and some things born, good and evil.

One result of the Boxer massacres has been the vindication of the sincerity of the Chinese Christians beyond cavil. Readiness to die for one's faith does not prove that the faith is true, but it does offer powerful evidence that the martyr believes it to be true, and the thousands of native Christians who have peacefully laid down their lives rather than deny Christ, have sounded the death knell of all that cheap talk of "rice Christians" which came chiefly from those whose Christianity offered in the open market would not have brought even rice.

The perils of the missionaries during the Uprising raised in a sharp and distinct way the old question of the political rights of missionaries. Some have contended that the missionaries should be absolutely prohibited by their home Governments from going to China, others that they should be confined to the treaty ports, others that they should be allowed to go into the interior, but with the privilege of extra-territoriality withdrawn, others that Governments should wash their hands of the whole business and have nothing whatever to do with the missionaries. Missions, these people hold, are an outlawed and illegitimate enterprise, and the missionary has no legal

sands of soldiers some are always found whose elementary passions are aroused to an uncontrollable degree by the scenes and doings inseparable from warfare. Grant all that, grant that our brute nature resumes the mastery under certain conditions, we have then to answer the question, Why should not the same excuse apply to the case of the Boxers? With what show of consistency is the Occident to denounce the barbarity of the Chinese, when Occidental soldiers go to China and perpetrate the very acts which constitute the basis of the charge of barbarity?" (Article, "The Atrocities in China," *Japan Weekly Mail*, November 3, 1900). "One lesson taught by the Chih-li campaign is that no trust whatever can be placed in the stories told by any newspaper correspondent unless he is a man whose reputation for veracity and conscientious care has been well established. A great part of the accusations preferred against Russian and German troops have now been proved to be wholly without foundation, yet it is very doubtful whether subsequent contradictions of these falsehoods have erased the original impression from the public mind. To make a stain is always much easier than to remove it" (Article, "The Undying Scandal," *Japan Weekly Mail*, February 8, 1902).

rights. An American who goes to China is an American still, unless, perchance, he should happen to be a true Christian,—but if he goes in the interest of religion, he forfeits his nationality. Now (1) this proposal is absurd, for nationality is not a thing that can be taken off like a coat in this way. And even if the United States should denationalize its missionaries, that would not make them citizens of China, or put them in the way of becoming such. (2) The proposal is impossible. One class of citizens cannot be distinguished in this way from another class in the denial of rights, without the consequence that all classes will feel it. Earl Granville pointed this out to Sir Thomas Wade in the correspondence which followed the Circular of the Chinese Government of 1891, on the Missionary Question.[1] (3) To do such a thing would be perilous. It is one thing to deny unconceded rights. It is another thing to destroy established rights. To do so does not always leave one where he was before the abolished rights were obtained. To deny the missionary his present status would not, it is true, in the great majority of cases make any difference, locally; for the missionary let alone will win his way. But it would be a formal notification to the Chinese Government and ultimately to every rowdy, robber and mob that citizenship under a foreign Government is worthless, and the Chinese Government would soon cease to distinguish between the expatriated missionary and the harlot or rumseller who is a fully recognized citizen. (4) And those very terms suggest the infamy of such a view. The American harlot may set up her brothel, as she has done in Shanghai and Hankow, and the Stars and Stripes may wave over her pollution. The American saloon-keeper or whiskey trader may take refuge under the folds of the flag and sell his wares in any open port in China. But the missionary, although the treaties speak specifically of him, and the Chinese have voluntarily conceded to him many rights, is on this new theory a man without a country. The enterprise with which he is connected is an enterprise of expatriation, and he himself is an alien, a political pariah. He may have fought for his country and be paying taxes for its support, but simply because he is a Christian, a conscientious Christian, who believes that Christianity is too good to be misappropriated to any one land, he is to be denationalized. If he will abandon his Christianity and take a Chinese mistress, and

[1] *Blue Book, China*, No. 1, 1872, p. 20.

go into the liquor business, he can claim the full protection of an American citizen. Surely no honourable man can maintain a doctrine so infamous. Men are to be free to pour the vices of Christendom over the world. Christendom will recognize them as its legitimate representatives. But the men who try to stem this foul tide, who try to give the world those eternal principles from which Christian civilization, human purity and national righteousness proceed, are to be sent out without passports,[1] but with the implicit proclamation, "These men may be treated as you please. We disown them. Kill them. Burn their houses. Outrage their wives. Torture their children. What do we care? They have no rights." Now I repeat that the missionary could stand this better than his Government. He makes his own way in any event, and he is received and ultimately loved not so much because of his nationality as in spite of it. But his failure to use rights is one matter. The denial of these rights to him is a different matter. These two questions should be kept distinct. One is, What are the missionaries' rights? And I assert that an American does not forfeit his rights by being a Christian; that a missionary is entitled to all that the treaties guarantee him, and that he is entitled to demand that his Government shall procure for him in its treaties no less privileges than it secures for his fellow citizens. "I am a Roman citizen," said Paul, the Christian. Paul asserted his political rights. The morality of a missionary's doing so in China is precisely the same as the morality of Paul's doing so at Philippi and Jerusalem. But the other question is, What shall he do with his rights? And I answer, Whatever is best for the cause of Christ. He surrendered His right to be on an equality with God. And whenever for the sake of Christ and His name it is best for His representatives to decline political protection, and to accept death, to waive indemnity and to submit to loss, they must do so in the Spirit of Christ. Only they will do it in His Spirit. None other dictated to Him. The rights He laid down were not rights in which His ownership was denied. "I have power to lay it down," He said of His life, "and I have power to take it again." Missionaries will occupy the same attitude towards their rights. They are their rights. They have a right to surrender them when they will; but no man may take them from them.

[1] *St. James Gazette*, Editorial, September 13, 1900.

And often, as the history we have traced shows, it is expedient for the missionary to hold his real rights in abeyance or to yield them. Again and again missions and missionaries have done this. "It is dangerous," says Dr. Ross, "for us to demand always what we call 'Treaty Rights'—rights under treaties extorted from China. Better to quietly endure many a wrong than assist by ever claiming our 'rights' to deepen the sense of irritation given by our presence in China." [1] And I believe it to be the settled policy of all missionaries in China, save the Roman Catholic, to refrain absolutely from carrying questions to either Chinese or consular officials until driven to it by the necessity of thus avoiding greater evils than would be entailed by their silence. So long as the conditions are as they are in China, the people ignorant and suspicious, the Government sore and slow, the principle of extra-territoriality in existence, the missionary will have to be wise in his insistence upon those rights which he could not renounce if he would, and which he ought not to renounce if he could. They hamper him as well as help him, but they come to him in the unfolding plan of God, and he must use them as a Divine trust and responsibility, for the sake above all of his cause, but also for the sake, in a sense we shall some day more perfectly understand, of the nation from which he has come, and the nations to which he has gone. [2]

The more difficult problem of the relation of the missionary to the

[1] *Chinese Recorder*, May, 1900, p. 239.

[2] "The State has acquired some of the prerogatives of the Church, and is likely to acquire more; for the career of the free State has barely begun. The creation of a united Germany, the birth of Italian unity, the rise of Japan, the vast expansion of lay education through the public school and the university, and many another feature of contemporary life, tell us with unmistakable emphasis that for an indefinite stretch of centuries in the future the conception of the State is bound to gain steadily in spiritual significance, and in the power to command the spirit and imagination of our picked men and women.

"Some will think that the State has been stealing clothes from the Church. But it is rather the case that the Church herself is entering a new phase of her history. All the inherited dogmas of Christianity were shaped in a period when the State was either moribund or else possessed no first-hand spiritual significance. But now the State receives its title direct from God and the sunshine. The Church therefore is facing a new fact which has a central position in the spiritual order of things. Christianity is to triumph in the great debate now beginning, which we call comparative religion, by proving that the Christian view of the universe, as it is embodied in the person of Christ, is alone able to endow the principle of individuality with sovereign authority in history. The Church must put herself forward as the ally and interpreter of the free State" (Professor Nash, of Harvard, quoted in *Federation*, September, 1900, p. 16.

troubles, persecution, lawsuits of native Christians, has already been suggested. Many have declared the irritation caused by missionary interference here to be one great cause of anti-foreign feeling. Undoubtedly the Chinese do resent the superior status which is often obtained for native Christians. This superiority, so far as it exists, resides in exemption from certain local subscriptions for idolatrous or semi-idolatrous entertainments or performances, and in protection against official squeezing. As over against any such advantages should be placed the real ostracism, even to the extent of exclusion from his trade guild, which the Christian usually accepts, the loss of the seventh of his income by the observance of the Sabbath, and a host of petty annoyances and persecutions which often mount up to something more than petty. Furthermore, it is the settled policy of the Protestant missionaries to discourage converts from all appeals to the yamens, and to refrain themselves from ever appearing or using influence there. Of a large number of missionaries of experience consulted on this subject, one-third reported that they had never in their missionary experience even once interfered in behalf of native Christians.[1] That there is danger of abuse here all missionaries admit, and they strenuously strive to escape it.

And yet it would be unjust, though it would be pleasant, not to point out that in this matter the Catholics have pursued a course radically different from the Protestants. This is not a canard of Protestant missionaries. The Chinese themselves make the distinction. They made it officially and solemnly in the Memorandum of 1871, on the Missionary Question. That Memorandum declares that "wherever missionaries of the Romish profession appear, ill-feeling begins between them and the people." It attributes this ill-feeling to certain causes with detailed specifications emphasizing especially this matter of interference between native Christians and the Chinese officials; and then points out that while the Government understands that there is a difference between Catholics and Protestants, the people do not, and visit upon all, the ill-feeling aroused by the former. In communicating this document to the State Department, Mr. Low, the United States minister, wrote: "It is a noticeable fact that among all the cases cited there does not appear to be one in which Protestant missionaries are charged with violating

[1] *Report of Second Shan-tung Missionary Conference*, pp. 102–116.

treaty, law or custom." It is the testimony of those who are allowed to investigate their work that the Catholic missionaries by their devotion and earnestness win the confidence and love of their people. We would not believe otherwise. But it is also true that they have done great harm by their political interference whether in the matter of local support of Catholic Christians in the Chinese courts, of themselves usurping the functions of Chinese officials as they have done in Manchuria and even trying cases where one party may not be a Christian at all,[1] or of demanding vengeance for the murder of their missionaries, and so bringing down upon all foreigners in China, the avalanche of anti-foreign hate. As Bishop Anzer himself said: "The first and chief cause of the persecution of the Christians in China was the occupation of Kiao-chou. This act offended the Chinese national pride to the quick. It led to other similar acts. Port Arthur, Wei Hai Wei followed, and the Western press began to speak about the division of China. The governor of Shan-tung has described the situation in a nutshell as follows: 'Because the missionaries were murdered the Germans came; then came Kiao-chou, and then came all the rest!' Then turning to me, he said, 'You called the Germans; and if they had not come, Kiao-chou, Port Arthur and other places would not be in foreign hands. You are guilty in all these things.'"[2] This is not a complete statement, but it is a statement of truth.

It is not necessary to discuss the question of the relation of Christianity and Christian missions to native customs, where the latter are anchored in the superstitions and idolatries of the people. There will often be diversity of opinion regarding any given custom as to whether it has such anchorage. There is difference of view on this point in China regarding ancestor worship, the supreme Chinese custom antagonized by missions. The overwhelming majority of missionaries, however, believe that worship to be essentially idolatrous, and they do not see how it can be allowed to live in the Christian Church. Of course Christian missionaries have but one course in such matters open to them, and that is the course of absolute honesty and avoidance of compromise. As Minister Wu's brother-in-law has

[1] *Missionary Record of United Presbyterian Church of Scotland*, September 1, 1900, pp. 265f.
[2] *The Independent*, December 20, 1900, p. 3060.

pointed out, such a course with reference to ancestor worship, while it will be condemned by the Chinese, need not anger them, and as a matter of fact does not, when the Christian position comes to be understood. Chang Chih-tung sees this, and vindicates the Christian nations from the charge of filial irreverence. "Again in the Mosaic Decalogue, the duty of honouring one's parents," he says, "is placed next to that of worshipping heaven, and foreigners also put on mourning for deceased parents and wear black bands as the badge. Although they have no such things as ancestral beads or tablets of deceased relatives, in lieu of them they place the photographs of their dead parents and brothers on the tables in their houses, and make offerings to them. And while they make no sacrifice at the tombs of their ancestors, they repair their graves and plant flowers upon them as an act of worship. It will be seen then, that Western people also hold in common with us the Relation of Father and Son."[1] Chang Chih-tung needs some further enlightenment, but he knows too much to oppose Christianity on the ground of its lack of inculcation of filial piety. In simple fact, no custom of Christianity and no opposition of Christianity to custom can arouse enough hostility to counterbalance its love producing power. The saying of John Lawrence already quoted of government in India, is true of missions everywhere: "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen." Where they do, where consistent and Christlike Christianity arouses wrath, then the missionary must quietly accept it, as his Master did, knowing well that his acceptance will issue as his Master's did, in a triumph sure and glorious.

And now, lastly, turning from the past, what is to be said of the future?[2] Would that it might be said that the issue of the Boxer

[1] *China's Only Hope*, pp. 45f.

[2] One thing that is to be said is that, as often before, the West's way of punishing China becomes a new source of trouble and hate:

"The indemnity exacted by foreigners for the Boxer outbreak from the Chinese Government is being raised in two ways: one by an increase of the tariff on all imported goods, the other by levying additional taxation of various kinds on the people in the provinces. The levy of the latter is made the excuse for extorting more than is really needed, and the necessity of the levy is made to appear as a foreign oppression, thereby stimulating anti-foreign feeling amongst the people.

"As the indemnity of 450,000,000 taels (£60,000,000) has not only been provided for and partly paid, but is made the excuse for additional levies, one may infer that the Chinese people can be made to bear a heavier burden of taxation

trouble would be a radical change in the policy of the West in dealing with China. Explaining the course of the Boxer outbreak, and attributing it to "the deep-seated hatred of the Chinese people towards foreigners," Li Hung Chang said "China has been oppressed, trampled upon, coerced, cajoled, her territory taken, her usages flouted. Her people believe that they have both the right and the power to act as a sovereign nation." [1] China brought a great deal of it upon herself, but this is the true description of the treatment she has received. And there is no prospect of a change. In arranging the terms of peace, the foreign powers have had no concern for China's truest interests.[2] They have taken all they could, and have flung the Chinese back upon themselves, again, without one attempt to help the poor land which twice before when the opportunity presented itself of delivering her, the Western Powers betrayed. Politically it is evident that China is still to be the prey of the unscrupulous and the strong. No nation has arisen with enough unselfishness and far-sightedness and moral power to say that the past course of brutal wrong shall cease, and China be helped in spite of herself to her feet. This is however, the new spirit of Japan towards China and she has already begun a great propaganda to persuade China of this.[3]

than at present, and no doubt sooner or later their capacity to do so will be used for some purpose or other. Whether when levied it will be used to produce foreign trouble, or the levying of it will cause internal disorder, it is impossible to say, but the general opinion is that the indemnity taxation and its outgrowths do not make for the hoped-for peace and quietness which all friends of China so earnestly wish her, and for that educational and material progress which this Society is so anxious to further" (*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, 1903*, p. 21).

[1] Quoted in *Japan Weekly Mail*, October 6, 1900.

[2] "The Chinese Government administration is advancing steadily if slowly on the road of progress. This is not seen by looking at Peking, but by looking at the provincial capitals, where Western ideas are already leavening provincial administrations. If China be given another fifteen or twenty years of sovereign integrity, there is every sign that she will evolve a Government system suited to the people, to the times and existing conditions. . . . But certain and sure as the progressive movement is, the disruptive factors of foreign origin are moving faster, and unless the proportion between them is altered the rapid disintegration of the empire is bound to come about. These disruptive factors are not chiefly annexations of territory. Such could be likened to the amputation of a limb, mutilating the body, yet not necessarily affecting its mental integrity. The most serious of the disruptive factors are the imposition of agreements which ignore her sovereign rights without nominally interfering with her eminent domain" (Article by James S. Fearon on "The Chinese Problem," in the *Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, October, 1903, p. 266).

[3] "Formerly the professors in the few colleges for the teaching of Western

But what the nations will not do, Christian missions have been silently and steadily accomplishing. They are working now, still, unobtrusive, irresistible, and they propose to achieve in the time and

subjects were all Europeans or Americans. Now that the civil and military colleges, agricultural and normal schools are established in all the provinces, as reported by us last year, we find that with the few exceptions of colleges opened by Yuen Shih-kai, Viceroy of Chih-li, Chou Fu the Governor of Shan-tung and one or two others, by far the great majority of professors in these institutions as well as military and police inspectors are Japanese.

"And even in religious matters we find that Japanese are endeavouring to assert an influence by banding together a large number of votaries who are professedly Buddhistic as regards religion and pro-Japanese as regards politics.

"The immense and growing influence of Japanese on Chinese during late years is a great fact patent to every one who has given any attention to the subject.

"It is difficult to imagine that so wide-spread a pro-Japanese propaganda as exists in China depends solely on the personal enthusiasm of individual agents, and one must assume from its extent and progress that it is an organization commanding very powerful sympathy on the Japanese side, while the recognition it has secured in China would seem to indicate that it has commended itself to many influential Chinese in high places.

"One naturally asks why China in her desire for knowledge should turn to Japan, knowing as she must that everything to be learned there can only be had at second hand, that the fountainhead of modern knowledge and civilization is in the West and that its stream naturally flows from thence as its source. Why do not the Chinese go to the fountainhead? The reason has been suggested by us in previous reports. The presentation of a purely secular educational system has charms for those Chinese who make little of all religion and really respect none; the affiliation of two peoples which are or have been under Buddhistic influences promises to become easy of accomplishment on the basis of a common religious system, tolerable because old established; and the desire of weakness to be friendly with strength, already proved; all these are so many factors in favour of a Sino-Japanese friendliness being brought about. What such a close coming together of the two leading independent Oriental nations may lead to, politically, is beyond human power to divine, and to speculate upon it is perhaps outside this Society's province. So long as national union has as its motive love, good will and desire to be delivered from oppression, such a combination might not be considered an element of danger. But if it means the building up of a Power capable of antagonizing Christendom, and displacing a civilization founded and consummated on the teachings of Christ, can any greater danger to the world, God's people, be imagined by Christian men? That such a consummation could ever be realized our reliance in the Divine Power leads us to pronounce impossible, but in the meantime the efforts to produce that impossible result are capable of producing incalculable harm.

"There is no need to antagonize or disparage secular education, as such; and so long as it confines itself to its own proper sphere. But Christianity must work and teach and show that education without Christian principle is insufficient, ineffectual and incapable of producing the best results.

"But purely material knowledge may prepare the way for that higher and fuller education which can only be attained by the inclusion of the moral and spiritual truths of Christianity.

"Secularization of education in China should therefore stimulate rather than discourage the Diffusion of General Knowledge on a Christian basis. Workers,

ways of God the regeneration of China. The awful wreckage of the Boxer upheaval and the legacy of distrust and hatred which the Western nations have left behind them in China, and all the venomous opposition to missions displayed at home, and difficulties never so many and so great, will not dismay or deter the missionary in his work, or permanently defer the successful accomplishment of his task.

"As heretofore," said President McKinley in his inaugural address on March 4, 1900, "so hereafter will the nation demonstrate its fitness to administer any new estate which events devolve upon it, and in the fear of God, will 'take occasion by the hand and make the bounds of freedom wider yet.' If there are those among us who would make our way more difficult, we must not be disheartened, but the more earnestly dedicate ourselves to the task upon which we have rightly entered. The path of progress is seldom smooth.

helpers and supporters, friends in China and out of it, should realize that the more the work of the non-Christian schoolmaster is extended the more the Christian teacher needs to be in evidence. Japan has realized that Christianity should be free and she has not discouraged it as a teacher: she has only dreaded it and faced it as a political force. Therefore the prospect of a possible Asiatic combination under Japanese direction need not necessarily be a cause for despondency, as far as the work of our Society is concerned. The principle of opportunism, which is now such a controlling force in national policy, is quite sufficient to account, at the moment, for a rapprochement of the two countries, growing out of mutual irritation against European encroachments, not sentimental but real, which each feels bound to resist. . . .

"The Japanese have outstripped all others in utilizing the press to direct public opinion, for they have newspapers in Pekin, Tientsin, Shanghai and elsewhere, all in the Chinese language, not only giving their own views of Japan, but also of Western civilization, which could hardly be expected to quite coincide with ours. Besides this, the Chinese Reformers have split up into parties and one of these, an extreme section consisting for the most part of men educated in Japan, or in some Anglo-Chinese school in China, or whose knowledge has been acquired from translations of Western books, singles out revolutionary periods of history for study and has its views published widely, declaring that Bismarck routed Christianity politically, and Darwin scientifically, and that Anglo-Saxon civilization is only fifty years old, etc. The avowed object of one powerful and fast growing section of the press is to develop the new factor in world politics commenced a few years ago. It is not the development of a merely Sino-Japanese but an Asiatic League for the purpose of delivering themselves from what they consider the white peril from Europe and America. This is a movement whose importance it is difficult to overestimate. All the friends of China and of the West should exert themselves so that this league shall be for the good of all and the injury of none. This shows the need of more fully presenting true Christianity—the kingdom of God, which unites all the good against all the bad, and utilizes the best knowledge in all departments of life for the good of all men" (*Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, 1903*, pp. 6–8, 14).

New things are often hard to do. Our fathers found them so. We find them so. They are inconvenient. They cost us something. But are we not made better for the effort and sacrifice? And are not those we serve lifted and blessed?" If that is the spirit in which a state should face its duty and do its work, he is ignorant alike of the Spirit of God, of the heart of man, and of what the Spirit of God has done in human history and in human hearts, who does not perceive that the Boxer Uprising, with all that it involved and entailed, was a challenge to the Christian Church which she can pass by only at the sacrifice of her life.

The Coming of the Slav

XII

THE COMING OF THE SLAV

"THE Latin and the Teutonic races have had their day, and they have failed to establish a truly Christian civilization. They have done great things in the organization of society, in the development of material wealth, in literature, art, and science, and especially in recognizing and securing in some degree the rights of the individual man; but they have exalted the material above the spiritual, and made Mammon their God. They have lost the nobler aspirations of youth, and are governed now by the sordid calculations of old age. We wait the coming of the Slav to regenerate Europe, establish the principle of universal brotherhood and the kingdom of Christ on earth.

"This is the substance of an address delivered not long ago by a young Slav. If it were the fancy of a single brain, it would not be worth noticing; but as it is, in fact, the dream of more than a hundred million brains in Europe, it has some interest for those who are to be regenerated by the coming of the Slav."

Ex-President Washburn of Robert College, begins with these words an article in *The Contemporary Review* for January, 1898, bearing the title borrowed for this chapter. This Russian dream is not altogether new. In some degree Russians have dreamed it for centuries. It was in the background of the thought of Peter the Great. "He loved Russia," says Kostomaroff, "loved the Russian people; loved it not in the sense of the mass of Russians contemporary with and subject to himself, but in the sense of that ideal to which he wished to bring the people. . . . On account of Peter's love of the ideal of the Russian people, a Russian will love Peter as long as he does not himself lose this national ideal."[1] But old as the ideal of a great Russian nationality is, the conception of a vast

[1] Boulger, *Central Asian Questions*, pp. 45f.

racial mission, taking up the work which Latin and Teuton have wrought upon, and over which they have failed, finding a track through the tangle of conflicting rights and interests, of transient and abiding issues, solving the oldest of all problems,—the problem of a unified and stable government in Asia,—this conception has been born almost in our own day and gathers strength year by year. Indeed, this conception is the development rather of the spirit which opposed Peter the Great than of his spirit. He sought to bring Russia into contact with the rest of the world. The present spirit seeks to make Russia great as he sought, but draws a line of division between Russia and its spirit, its aims and its divine mission, and the spirit, aims and achievements of other peoples. As Dostoievski says in one of his novels: "Russia has the genius of all nations and Russian genius in addition. We can understand all nations, but no other nation can understand us."[1] And the poet Tuchef writes:

> "No man can comprehend Russia with his reason;
> It is only necessary to believe in Russia."

Half a century ago this new thought of Russia's destiny received special emphasis from the Slavophile movement. The Slavophiles condemned Peter's attempt to Westernize Russia. The nation had a great and original mission of its own, they argued. "Western Europe," wrote Prince Odoefski, "presents a strange, saddening spectacle. Opinion struggles against opinion, power against power, throne against throne. Science, art, and religion, the three chief motors of social life, have lost their force. We venture to make an assertion which to many at present may seem strange, but which will be in a few years only too evident: Western Europe is on the high road to ruin! We, however, are young and fresh, and have taken no part in the crimes of Europe. We have a great mission to fulfill. Our name is already inscribed on the tablets of victory, and now we have to inscribe our spirit in the history of the human mind. A higher kind of victory—the victory of science, art, and faith—awaits us on the ruins of tottering Europe!"[2] The Slavophile party was merely a small literary faction, but its influence was immense, and the Panslavist idea for which it contended, has now become the dom-

[1] Quoted by Dr. Washburn in his article.
[2] Wallace, *Russia*, p. 415.

inant principle of Russia's thought and activity. The whole Slav race has a distinct mission, and Russia is the divine agent for the realization of the mission. The way in which thus far this mission has slowly but irresistibly unfolded is the admiration and despair of many European statesmen. "There is one signal quality which I especially admire in the policy of Russia," says Lord Roseberry. "It is practically unaffected by the life of man or the lapse of time—it moves as it were, by its own impulse; it is silent, concentrated, perpetual and unbroken; it is, therefore, successful." [1] The Russians have seen in this only the certainty of destiny. It has been the will of God that has been unfolding their history and passing into their hands the control of Asia and the leadership of the world.

It is intensely interesting to see two races on opposite sides of the world holding practically the same views as to their relations to Western civilization and the future of Asia. The Japanese have dreamed the same dream as the Slavs. They, too, have the secrets of social ideal and institution which will solve the political and industrial problems which the West has failed to solve. They, too, are Asiatic and alone able to understand and govern the Asiatic peoples. They, too, are young and fresh, a new race ready to take up the task of civilization where the West has been forced to lay it down. The jealousy of these two peoples rests on the consciousness of a direct antagonism, a radical hostility of racial ambitions. We are concerned here, however, only with Russia, and we cannot conceive too strongly its sense of racial distinction and of national mission. Russians speak of "Russia and Europe," separating their own nation and grouping the others. They see in themselves a new nation just arising; in others, old nations ending in failure more or less complete. In his *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, Pobedonostseff, the Procurator of the Synod, the administrative head of the Greek Orthodox Church, argues that Western civilization is diseased and doomed. "Basing his case on the growth of anarchy and infidelity and the increasing strength of the dissolvent forces which are attacking individualistic societies, he holds that social existence cannot successfully withstand the corroding influence of these tendencies, and affirms his belief that the torch of civilization has passed to Russia. The elements which in his eyes make Russia great and are

[1] *Questions of Empire*, p. 27.

bound to make her the saviour of the world are autocracy, religion, and the village community, the last named being, to his mind, the best antidote to socialistic agitation, since it contains within itself all that is reasonable and healthy in the socialistic propaganda. The religious reverence of the Russian masses is the great force that holds society together, while the autocratic power of the Czar provides the state with a means of quick and effective action. Unity, harmony, subordination, reverence, and simplicity are to him the watchwords of Russian civilization."[1] Pobedonostseff's view of religion as a political utility and the frank avowals he makes of the anti-progressive character of Russian Government are sufficiently set forth in these quotations from his book:

"However powerful the State may be, its power is based alone upon identity of religious profession with the people; the faith of the people sustains it; when discord once appears to weaken this identity, its foundations are sapped, its power dissolves away. In spiritual sympathy with its rulers a people may bear many heavy burdens, may concede much, and surrender many of its privileges and rights. . . .[2]

"Among the falsest of political principles is the principle of the sovereignty of the people, the principle that all power issues from the people, and is based upon the national will—a principle which has unhappily become more firmly established since the time of the French Revolution. Thence proceeds the theory of Parliamentarism, which, up to the present day, has deluded much of the so-called 'intelligence,' and unhappily infatuated certain foolish Russians. It continues to maintain its hold on many minds with the obstinacy of a narrow fanaticism, although every day its falsehood is exposed more clearly to the world. . . .[3]

"It is terrible to think of our condition if destiny had sent us the fatal gift—an All-Russian Parliament! But that will never be. . . .[4]

"The arguments most effective on the mass are not the most symmetrical—the most truly taken from the nature of things, but those expressed in sounding words and phrases, artfully selected, constantly

[1] Reinsch, *World Politics*, pp. 212f.
[2] Pobedonostseff, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

reiterated, and calculated on the instinct of baseness always dominant in the people. . . .[1]

"By nature, men are divided into two classes—those who tolerate no power above them, and therefore of necessity strive to rule others; and those who by their nature dread the responsibility inseparable from independent action, and who shrink from any resolute exercise of will. . . .[2]

"The Liberal Democracy triumphs, bringing into society disorder and violence with the principles of infidelity and materialism, and proclaiming liberty, equality, and fraternity—where there is place neither for liberty nor for equality. Such conditions inevitably lead to anarchy, from which society can be saved alone by dictatorship—that is, by the rehabilitation of autocracy in the government of the world. . . .[3]

"In the popular opinion the apostles of reform are the apostles of improvement, or, as we say, progress; while on the other hand, those who question the need or utility of reform upon new principles are enemies of progress, enemies of advancement, enemies almost of good, of justice, and of civilization. In this opinion, so widely disseminated by our publicists, there is a great error and delusion."[4]

Pobedonostseff represents the extreme view. There is far more liberalism in Russia than he has ever displayed; but his conviction of the separateness of Russia and of the uniqueness of her mission is the controlling principle in Russian politics. And this is no passing fancy. The chasm between Russia and the West is believed by the best observers to be steadily widening. "As the race becomes more united, more enlightened and more self-conscious, it will be less likely to yield to Western influences. This is already manifest in Russia. It is more Russian to-day than it was in the time of Alexander II, and there is nothing in the happy disappearance of Pobedonostseff from the front, or in the more liberal acts of the present Czar, which is inconsistent with a still more distinctively Slavic development. Russia is every year less dependent upon the West, intellectually as well as politically and commercially."[5] And as has been

[1] Pobedonostseff, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, p. 41.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 54. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 117f.
[5] Washburn, *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898, pp. 12f. Pobedonostseff has reappeared at the front since 1898.

clearly enough indicated, this Russian separateness is conceived by the Slav to be part of the destiny of his race, which is to be sufficient to itself and supreme over others.

The facts of Russian history have gone far to justify these ambitions. Consider first the territorial growth from the time of Ivan IV, at the close of the sixteenth century, to the beginning of the nineteenth. During Ivan's reign, Kazan, Astrakhan, the territory of the Don Cossacks and Siberia were annexed. Peter added parts of Finland, Esthonia and Livonia, and the conquests on the Caspian began. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Southern Finland, Azov, Kertch, Yenikale, Kinburn, part of Poland, Courland and the Crimea were added. In the nineteenth century the present limits of Russia in Europe were filled out. The rest of Finland was ceded to Russia by the peace of Frederick Shamm in 1809. The duchy of Warsaw was annexed at the Congress of Vienna in 1814. By the peace of Adrianople in 1829, and the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, robbing Russia of part of the fruits of her war with Turkey, as Russia, Germany and France later robbed Japan of the results of her war with China, Russia gained the rest of what she now holds in Europe.[1] But these territorial gains in Europe mark the least part of the advance. The great expansion has been eastward into Asia. The Russian boundary has been carried south of the Caucasus to the Aras River at the expense of Turkey and Persia; east of the Caspian Sea, it has absorbed the whole of Central Asia to the Persian frontier and the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and in 1891 by the absorption of the Pamirs or "roof of the world," the Chinese soldiers obediently withdrawing, Russian territory adjoined India on the Hindu-Kush mountains between Afghanistan and China. And a correspondent of the *London Daily Graphic*, recently reported Dorshieff, the chief Legate of a Russian Minister to Thibet, as saying, "One of these days our Consul-General in Kashgar will probably be replaced by a Russian Governor-General; that is when that outlying region of Chinese Turkestan has been incorporated with Russian Turkestan." The correspondent reports that he asked an official if Prince Ukhtomsky's categorical disclaimers with regard to Russia's assum-

[1] Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century, passim;* Curtis, *The Turk and the Lost Provinces*, pp. 6, 14, 16; Muller, *Political History of Recent Times*, pp. 550–552.

ing a protectorate over Thibet might be accepted as authoritative. This was before Younghusband's expedition. "For the time being, yes," was the reply, "but you must not take these disclaimers too literally. They are always open to the qualification of possible circumstances." All things in their time. No one can appreciate the immense change that has taken place in Central Asia who will not examine the old and the new maps, and read also some account of old conditions, such as Arminius Vambéry's *Life and Adventures*, or Burnby's *Ride to Khiva*, and consider also the feats of the Russians as railroad builders and establishers of order in this wildest and most lawless part of the world. "So isolated was the region through which I travelled in 1863," says Vambéry, "that on my return the Shah of Persia and his ministers made the most anxious inquiries of me,—Central Asia seemed to them to be as unknown as Japan or China. . . . Boundless is my wonder when I consider the changes." [1] Vambéry travelled in a pannier slung on a camel's back, with a buffalo calf on the other side to balance him, and the country was cursed by the trade in slaves, the tents of the Turkomans being full of them. The domestic slaves were pegged down at night by collars which they wore. Now the Russian Trans-Caspian railroad runs through Merv, Bokhara and Samarcand to Tashkend, and on to within two hundred miles of Kashgar, across the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, while a branch runs south from Merv to Kushk Post on the border of Afghanistan, a hundred miles north of Herat.[2] With no fuss, unopposed by Europe, Russia has quietly absorbed this great region, introducing order, means of communication, and a measure of civilization. The change has been enormous, but the fact that it has come as it has, indicates the immense transformation in Russia's favour which the Asiatic problem has undergone. "I will only say one word in conclusion," wrote Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1875, "that I counsel nothing rash or premature. If Russia remained encamped on the Caspian, we should not, of course, leave the valley of the Indus. So long as she held aloof from Merv, we should hold aloof from Herat; but if she deliberately threw down the gauntlet, she must expect it to be taken up. We could not, as the guardians of the interests of India, permit her, on the pretext of curbing the Turkomans or establishing a trade route

[1] Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 320.
[2] Norman, *All the Russias*, Ch. XVI.

through Asia, to take up a position unopposed on the Murghab, which would compromise the safety of Herat. That city is both strategically and politically an indispensable bulwark of India, and we cannot and will not allow its future fate to be at the disposition of a foreign power." [1] "Herat," he declared, "must be secured against Russian occupation at all hazards, even though it should be necessary to march a force from India for its protection." [2] From time to time England has been excited over the cry, "the Russians at the Gates of Herat." But they are there, on the very door-step, with material piled up at Kushk Post for a narrow guage road to the city whenever they desire to enter, and England is hundreds of miles away, over almost impassible mountains.[3]

In eastern Asia the steady and unresisting advance of Russia has been almost as remarkable. By the treaty of Aigun in 1858 Russia gained from China all of the territory on the north bank of the Amur, and also east of the Usuri. This gave Russia the port of Vladivostok. The territory south of the Amur and west of the Usuri, China retained. This is the province of Manchuria. Into the territory added to Russia, in the next forty years 350,000 Russian settlers came. By the treaty of 1896, the Russians completed the destruction of England's influence with China, acquired Port Arthur in Manchuria as a naval station, and the right to build the Chinese Eastern Railroad through Manchurian territory. Later developments seemed to be passing the whole great province of Manchuria into the hands of Russia, and bringing Peking under Russian military control as truly as Herat, when the war with Japan introduced new elements into the problem, the significance of which we as yet only partially perceive.[4]

Meanwhile, Russia had solidified her vast Empire of Sibera north of these acquisitions in Central and Eastern Asia, also at China's expense.[5] "You could take," says Mr. Kennan, "the whole of the

[1] Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East*, p. 365.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. viii.
[3] *Contemporary Review*, February, 1897, pp. 154ff., Art. "Russia and England Down the Long Avenue."
[4] See Professor Wright's article, "The Russian Problem in Manchuria" in *The Review of Reviews*, July, 1901; Leroy Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East*, Part II, Ch. X; *Contemporary Review*, February, 1897, pp. 153–183, Arts., "Russia and England," "Secret History of the Russo-Chinese Treaty."
[5] Boulger, *Central Asian Questions*, Ch. XIII.

United States, from Maine to California, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and set it down in the middle of Siberia without touching its borders. You could then take Alaska, and all the countries of Europe, except Russia, and fit them in, like pieces of a dissected map, round the edges of the United States as it lay in the middle of Siberia, and you would still have left more than three hundred thousand square miles of Siberian territory."[1] Through this great region Russia has built the greatest railway in the world, 4,000 miles from the Ural to the sea, at a total estimated cost of £80,000,000.[2]

These, however, are bare facts. What has been the spirit, the underlying motive of all this great development, great, whatever its limitations may be shown to be? The thing that is of chief interest to us is the Russian view.[3] This has been eloquently presented by Vladimir Holmstrem, political leader-writer of the *St. Petersburg Viedomosti*, of whose article Prince Ukhtomsky says: "Mr. Holmstrem has faithfully expressed the ideas I have always held on the subject:"

"Prince Ukhtomsky, in his book on the present Czar's journey to the East, describes with his usual power and grip of significant detail, how, on nearing a Cossack settlement on the great Amur River, above the town of Blagoveshtchensk, the Imperial party in their steamer passed a high rock with a huge iron-bound wooden cross on it, painted white and bearing the inscription: '*Power lies not in strength, but in love.*'

"This cross, erected long ago by some person unknown, and since repaired by some local officials in the far Amur territory, stands on the very boundary between Russia and China (the Amur district is coterminous with the latter State, the boundary line following the river), and overlooks the country towards the Celestial Empire for a distance of twenty-seven versts, or eighteen English miles. The words inscribed upon the cross were placed there when it was last repaired, and are attributed to the present Governor-General of the territory, Baron von Korff.

"This sentence and the quotation from Prince Ukhtomsky are characteristic as indicating the spirit of Russian conquest in Asia; they give the key to the enigma of Russia's wonderful progress across the Asiatic Continent.

"Without going so far as to maintain that unselfish Christian love was the sole motive power that actuated the Russians in Asia, we are bound to admit that Russian conquest was rendered easy by the feeling of solidarity which

[1] Latimer, *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 304.
[2] Leroy Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East*, Part I, Ch. IX; Norman, *All the Russias*, Ch. VII.
[3] Beveridge, *The Russian Advance*, Ch. XXV.

always existed in a latent state between the natives and their conquerors, and often animated the latter with a half-conscious inclination in favour of the conquered. There were three forces operating on the Russian side in Asia: (1) the Cossacks from the rivers Don and Ural (in European Russia), who have a considerable admixture of Tartar and Kalmuck blood in their veins, as have the Russians generally; (2) the Russian peasant settlers, and (3) the dissenters from the Orthodox Church (the 'raskolriki')—none of whom represent a conquering force in the military sense of the word, but rather a civilizing force, with an enormous power of assimilation, there being no great gulf between the stages of civilization represented by the Russian agriculturist and the nomad cattle-breeding native. Action on the part of the Government was always tardy and casual, the Czars in Moscow and St. Petersburg sanctioning against their will the conquests made by their hardy subjects, whose exploits were often rewarded with disfavour. Nor is it to be supposed that the exile system has been working all this time with any marked success; voluntary exiles have greatly outnumbered the involuntary ones in the history of Siberia's consolidation into a Russian dependency, and the colonization of Russian Central Asia has gone on without any aid from the exile system.

"American readers are eager to know what is the history of the extension of Russia's dominion in Asia. They imagine this history as rich in picturesque details and glorious battles as the progress of Napoleon through Europe. My readers will be disappointed to learn that the work of the Russians in Asia has been a long record of toil and voluntary privation, rich in self-sacrifice, rarely acknowledged and never recompensed. With some exceptions, the very names of these patriotic toilers in Asia say nothing to the average Russian, and are not held up to public admiration in schools and school books. Russian patriotism, as found in the masses, is an intense inward glow, rarely assuming any outward aspect and only encouraging to self-sacrifice and labour; it is the reserve force of a people thoroughly Christian in its peaceful disposition, whom yet it is not well for its enemy to rouse from its lethargy.

"The growth of Russian dominion in Asia has been parallel with that of Russia herself as a State. Asia was awakened and brought to life together with our own awakening. This alone illustrates the truth of the saying that Russia is essentially an Asiatic country; her destiny is closely connected with that of Asia, and therein lies the main source of our predominance in that continent. From time immemorial Russia has lived a common life with the nations and races that people the neighbouring continent which along its western frontier joins on everywhere to the great Slavonic Empire, with no natural boundary between them worth speaking of. The Ural Mountains are of no importance as a natural barrier against an invasion, while south of them lies the great plain between the hill country and the Caspian Sea, the great road usually followed by the races that invaded Europe during the first thousand years of our era. All the countless evolutions, formations and destructions of the Asiatic khanates, kingdoms and empires have always had a *contrecoup* in Russia, have called forth

corresponding movements in that great neighbouring State, which was also in process of formation. Not only did the mighty Empires of the Turks, Tungus, Mongols, Chinese and Tartars exercise an influence on Russia, often in the days of their prosperity sending forth hordes of barbarians to the plains of Russia, not only did they exercise direct pressure on the Slav population of the east of Europe, but also the internal strife in Asia and the quarrels of her various races made themselves indirectly felt in Russia. Tenders of friendship were often made to the Czars of Moscow by the weaker party; Asiatic rulers often put themselves under Russian protection and so indirectly invited the Slav Empire to take part in their strife, made Russia's name popular and her influence powerful in Asia. These facts of close intercourse between the Slavs on the one hand and the Asiatic races on the other must be borne in mind in order to understand the nature of that firm grasp in which Russia holds the various populations on the Asiatic continent. '*Russia is at home in Asia*' is Prince Ukhtomsky's famous utterance, and it is this conviction, based on historical and ethnological data, that forms the corner-stone of the Prince's conception of Russia's Asiatic policy. . . .

"Russia's progress through Asia has been nothing else than the consolidation by means of true civilization and organized thought, properly expressed in institutions, of a vast empire peopled by races of common origin—*i. e.*, common ideals, inclinations and creeds. This word 'creed' must not be taken in the sense of religion, but in the wider application of the word, as indicating a common speculative tendency. The Russians came out of Asia. Never during the thousand years of their existence did they cease to keep in touch with the population of the Asiatic Continent, and having begun, under the impulse of Western civilization, to form themselves into a State, they gradually proceeded with their creative work from the Baltic to the Pacific, from one end of their world-wide Empire to the other. But as on the shores of the Baltic, so on the slopes of the Pacific they have always felt themselves at home.

"What was the plan adopted for this wonderful progress through two continents? There was no special plan, or rather it developed itself under the pressure of circumstances and the influence of that best of guides—instinct. Cossacks, traders and settlers spread over the plains of Siberia and the steppes of Central Asia by way of that river system which is Siberia's greatest opportunity and her best chance for the attainment of a wonderful degree of prosperity. It was with great reluctance that the central Government followed the lead of its adventurous subjects, and it was only when suffering misfortune in the west and south of the Empire that it was ready to pay special attention to its eastern borders. England, by the way, has done much to direct our steps towards Asia, especially after the Crimean campaign and the Russo-Turkish War; the more she hindered our progress in the south the better we established ourselves in the east.

"What, then, was the ultimate object, the purpose of this expansion?

"Two sets of answers, closely connected one with the other, may be given to

this question. If we seek for an explanation in the history of the present century, rich in cases of direct Government action, or look for corresponding facts in the past, we shall say that Russia was always seeking for an outlet to the open sea. This was the primary object of Ivan the Terrible's activity; the same idea animated Peter the Great, who, according to tradition, included the mouth of the Amur among the possessions Russia was in want of, and a year before his death expressed a wish to visit 'Siberia and the lands of the Tungus up to the Great Wall of China itself.' Catherine the Great also acknowledged the value for Russia of the Amur as giving direct and easy communication with our possessions on the seacoast. The part played by Nicholas I with regard to this serious question has already been explained. The vital need of free access to the open sea has brought us to Port Arthur, but the English occupation of Wei Hai Wei is a wanton offense and a menace to Russia, while Germany in Kiao-chou blocks the way to the China seas and is a great hindrance to our commercial projects in the future. We cannot say, therefore, that we have obtained all that we are entitled to by our destiny and by the needs of our Empire. We think it would be better for all parties concerned if it were otherwise.

"The question as to Russia's ultimate object in the Far East may be answered very favourably for us, if our policy be judged by the character of our activity in Siberia in the course of the last century. During these hundred years we have devoted ourselves to developing the inexhaustible natural wealth of Siberia, but as yet with no great success, comparatively speaking. Without swift and well-organized means of communication embracing the whole of that vast country and welding it together we could only work at some one nook or corner at a time, but were unable to breathe life into the whole of the land. Nevertheless, all has been done that could be done. This work of ours in Siberia in the nineteenth century has been a record of achievements in the domains of peaceful culture and promises well for our future policy in Asia. Numerous scientific expeditions of all kinds, dispatched or aided by the Government, cross Siberia in every direction. Among their members we find such names as Alexander von Humboldt, the astronomer Fuss, such men of science as Lessing, Ledebur, Fedoroff, Krusenstern, Sarrikoff, Timkoffsky, Baron Wrangel, the Englishman Cottrell, Middenhoff, Hoffman, Ditmar, Muravieff and others, and at the end of the preceding century, Rumoffsky, Grishoff, Christian Mayer, Trescott, Tchernoi, Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstedt, etc. Much attention was paid by the Government to the internal development of the country, and measure after measure was devised for this purpose. Such highly gifted men as Speransky gave their hand and their vast experience to the task. But nothing of permanent value could be done without proper railway communication.

"We are now in possession of a great Empire which extends from the Ural Mountains to the Far East and covers an area of nearly 5,312,000 square miles, *i. e.*, about forty-four times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. But it must be borne in mind that these figures are merely approximate. As a matter of fact the actual area of Siberia is unknown, and the boundary between Siberia and

China for a distance of many miles in length has still to be strictly defined. In the interior there are hundreds of square miles where the foot of man has never trod. Half of the whole area of Siberia is covered by a dense forest, called the *Taiga*. It is the Siberian jungle, a place of gloom that is now being pierced by the iron rails of the new line. The population of Siberia, as given by the last census, is nearly six millions. This figure is composed principally of peasant settlers. Next to them in number are the workmen of the factories and other industrial establishments. Then come the Cossacks, half-settlers, half-guardians of the frontier, assisted by the regular troops in the towns. The Cossacks have vast tracks of land assigned especially to them and sometimes bringing them in large profits, as, for instance, in the land of the Orenberg Cossacks, south of the Ural. Part of the Cossacks are in actual service, part from the reserve; at any moment a hundred thousand of these sturdy fellows are ready to answer to the first call and to turn up at the gathering-point in full equipment on their swift, tireless ponies. The Russian Cesarewich is usually the chief Ataman of all the Cossack forces, and Prince Ukhtomsky, in his book on the present Czar's voyage to the East, bears witness to the wonderful enthusiasm which prevailed among the Siberian and the Orenberg Cossacks during the Cesarewich's progress through their lands. It was really an apotheosis of autocracy; Cossacks, settlers, merchants and peasants mingled together in one immense crowd, carried away by a single thought, animated by one sole desire; to offer their homage, to express the love they bore the son of the Czar!

"The population of Siberia includes many thousands of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, and a greater number still of Mohammedans and heathens. . . .

"In dealing in its place with the question of the purpose of Russia's expansion in Asia I have said that there are two sets of answers to be got on this point. In the first place I have endeavoured to show that the history of the past century points to the clearly conceived design of finding a way to the open sea; on the other hand, Russia's praiseworthy and beneficent work during the same century in the peaceful pursuit of scientific exploration, trade and industry and the internal development, spiritual and material, of Siberia promises well for her future sway in Asia, gives her a well earned title to a responsible position, and clearly indicates the spirit in which Russia means—or shall I say *ought*—to take the lead in matters connected with Asiatic affairs.

"But whatever may be said of our material success in Asia, our activity during the past two centuries cannot account for the wonderful prestige attaching to our name and authority in the eyes of the natives of various races throughout the whole of the Asiatic Continent. Such a reputation is not to be acquired by mere conquest and brutal force, as the unenviable position of the English in the estimation of the natives of India proves satisfactorily. No, the enigma of Russian prestige in Asia must be solved by looking backward, by trying to see what are the lessons taught by the history of many centuries in the past. We shall realize then the truth, the overwhelming importance and the all-absorbing significance of Prince Ukhtomsky's conception of the history of Russian progress through

Asia. It is an instinctive and irresistible impulse, a retrogression of the Russian people to the once abundant and overflowing sources of life, of faith, of love. It is an intercommunion with the vital creative forces of spiritual greatness which in bygone days called forth to life mighty empires with a true culture (Tamerlane, Ghenghis Khan, Akbar, etc.), which, experiencing no organizing influence, were fated to send us forth from Asia as barbarians and which, underlying our national character, after undergoing an organizing process under the influence of Western culture, have preserved our identity with our former selves, have made us great and now lead us back to Asia with the self-imposed and wholly conscientious task of recalling to life those peoples who are of common race, common faith and common destiny with ourselves. Our *solidarity* of spiritual inclination with the Asiatics is the primary cause of our spiritual victory over the whole of Asia, wherever the name of the White Czar stirs a man to an effort of self-concentrated thought, which in itself is an act of contemplative devotion and fills the soul with an intense and fervid glow. We have in ourselves, even among the population of European Russia, all the elements of race and creed that we come across in Asia, and that we are bound to unite in one harmonious whole for the benefit of mankind. Such is our mission!

"In resuscitating to conscious life and active faith our brethren in spirit and origin, in coming into contact with these dormant forces, we participate in their spiritual riches and prepare our own regeneration, our renovation in spirit; we renew our strength and work out our own salvation; that is our purpose!

"What are the conclusions we have arrived at? Simply these: That in the past Russia has rendered enormous services to mankind in keeping in check the barbarians of Asia, and finally, through incessant strife, by breaking up their empires; that Russia's expansion in Asia was and is an instinctive movement boding peace. It is a natural peaceful development, which besides Russia is to be found in two more cases only; China and the United States; that it is useless to oppose Russia in Asia and greatly preferable to associate one's self with her in her policy; obstacles may be raised in Russia's path at all points, but the force of circumstances will in the long run sweep them all away."[1]

Driven on by such a consciousness of destiny, what will stay the further movement of Russia? First the ignorance of the Russian people. No ignorant people can withstand an intelligent people.[2]

[1] *The Independent*, May 4, 1899, Art., "Russia's Extension in Asia, Its History and Purpose," pp. 1195–1206.

[2] "The Russian army is wholly uneducated. Its officers are untrained, and the details of the battles of the Yalu and of Nanshan Hill show it. The Russian officers proved wholly unfit for their work. Five-sixths of the Russian rank and file are unable to read and write with intelligence, though the number put down as literate in official returns is somewhat greater. The result has been that the Russian army was unable to use to the best advantage even the weapons with which it was provided. This great military monarchy was supposed to be almost omnipotent in a land war, but the event has proved once more that under

Second, the hollow unreality of autocratic power. The three chief opposing political interests are Germany, England and Japan. The Emperor of Germany has driven his influence between Russia and Central China by the appropriation of Shan-tung, and he has done more than any one else to impede the Russian absorption of Asia Minor and Russia's acquisition of Constantinople, through his friendship for the Sultan and his railroad schemes in the Euphrates valley. Japan will not give up Korea, which Russia wants to complete its territory in southeastern Siberia, and she is fighting for the reclamation of Manchuria to China, and England has interests from Korea to Gibraltar, which bring her into contact if not collision with the Slav. Up to the time of the war with Japan all of these problems had been changing steadily to Russia's gain. She was nearer Constantinople than ever. She could take what is called Anatolia and northern Persia when she would, and as to Korea, Russia was at least better off than before she had Manchuria and the ports on the open sea. As to France and Austria, the latter has no interests in Asia, while the former had been won to Russia's support at no cost whatever to Russia's interest. It was a great change from the day when England and France joined to support Turkey in the Crimean war, when Russia stood raw, undeveloped and alone. As the editor of *The Independent* remarked six or seven years ago, in comment on a collection of articles in his paper on European and international relations:

"The reader of the several articles which outline the relation of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia and Turkey to the balance of power will discover how everything depends on Russia. Great Britain would intervene in Turkey, but Russia forbids. England now seeks Russia's good-will; she has no quarrel with Russia. France simply follows Russia; she has no initiative of her own. Germany is reverting to the policy of Bismarck, which requires her to keep on good terms with Russia at an expense. Austria's only fear is of Russia. Italy has lost her prestige, and has, it would seem, depended on Russia for the influence which secured from Menelek of Abyssinia even the meagre advantages of the late treaty. Turkey is in Russia's hand, waiting for the fingers to clutch. Russia bides her time, just now most interested in the advance which is making

modern conditions wide-spread intelligence and education is as necessary in war as in trade, that a despotism is, in the shock of conflict, the weakest of all governments, and that when the hour of trial comes, knowledge and liberty are justified of their children and of the nation which puts its trust in them" (*The Churchman*, June 11, 1904.)

her the protector of Korea and Manchuria, and Turkey can wait. Russia has every advantage in the rivalry of Powers, enormous territory, an overwhelming army, and, chief of all, no popular sentiment, no elections, no freedom to interfere with the will of the autocrat Czar." [1]

And though Turkey waits, the day of the Slav's revenge, he believes, will surely come. The early development of the Slav race was "checked by the Turkish invasion of Europe. But for this Constantinople would, centuries ago, have been the capital of a great Slavic Empire, and Central Europe might have been Slavic instead of German. As it was, all the southern Slavs fell under the Turks and went back to barbarism." [2] The northern Slavs have waited centuries to redeem this history and are confident that their day will come.

What is to be said of all this great transformation in Russia's position, and the nature of her influence? Can Mr. Holmstrem's view be accepted without abatement? This was before the conflict with Japan. Does that conflict signify the collapse of all this great movement?

It is obvious that the outward movement of Russia has been natural; the Russians contend that it has been necessary and inevitable. "Empires are limited by seas," says the *Novoye Vremya* [3] continents by oceans, and Russia is a continent. . . . It is impossible for us to do otherwise than advance to India and the Pacific Ocean. It is not we who advance; it is history that carries us forward." [4] Oftentimes the expansion has been due to individuals acting under the impulse of the racial dream and disposition of empire. Mr. Holmstrem refers to this, and also betrays naively the fact that once a Russian representative has on his own initiative even though against "fierce opposition from those high in power" taken an advance step, the Government is ready to take advantage of his disobedience:

"The ultimate goal in the Far East was attained, thanks to the far-sighted policy of Nicholas I, whose statesmanlike activity always bore traces of the influence of a great national consciousness. He was seconded in his efforts and

[1] Quoted in *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1897, p. 157.
[2] *Contemporary Review*, Art., "The Coming of the Slav," January, 1898, p. 2.
[3] September 4, 1898.
[4] Quoted in *The Contemporary Review*, Art., "The Czar's Eirenicon," November, 1898, p. 634.

assisted in carrying out his designs, amid surroundings far from favourable to them, by the famous, highly gifted and energetic Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Count N. Muravieff, the grandfather of the present Russian Foreign Minister. Being appointed to his post in the Far East in 1847, Count Muravieff showed himself the man to fulfill our destiny. In the face of fierce opposition from those high in power, in contradiction to instructions received by him, but aided by his devoted companion, Admiral Nevelsky, who was actuated by the same intense faith in Russia's destiny, he secured for us by means of military and scientific expeditions the whole of the Amur region, Admiral Nevelsky, on August 1, 1850, hoisting the Russian flag at the newly explored mouth of the principal river of Eastern Siberia. In consequence of this splendid achievement, Russia, which for 150 years had been on excellent terms with China, acquired by the Aigun treaty all the left bank of the Amur, and some years later, in 1860, thanks to the efforts of Count Ignatieff, the Chinese, then occupied by war with the English and the French, concluded a new treaty at Pekin by which the region of the Usuri River (a tributary of the Amur) was ceded to Russia. The whole expanse of land from the Sea of Okhotsk on the one hand and Korea and Manchuria on the other, along with its coast line, came into the possession of Russia, and the hold of the Empire on its eastern territories was secured once for all. For, as Nicholas I said on hearing that in 1849 Admiral Nevelsky had planted the Russian flag at the mouth of the Amur: 'Where once the Russian flag has been hoisted it must never be lowered again!'"[1]

Doubtless often Government denial of the purpose to take some step in advance may have been sincere, or it may have come from one body of officials, another body, holding different views, later succeeding in carrying their purpose. Or changes of opinion may have come quickly. Or, as there is too much evidence to prove, there may have been simple prevarication. "In January, 1873, Count Schouvaloff had been sent on a special mission to pacify England with regard to the expedition against Khiva, and had then declared that 'not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as would not in any way lead to the prolonged occupation of Khiva.' Notwithstanding this statement Khiva was made part of *All the Russias*. 'Communication of intention,' was said by way of excuse, 'did not amount to an absolute promise.'"[2] "'I authorize you,' M. de Witte, when Minister of Finance, is reported to

[1] *The Independent*, May 4, 1899, p. 1201.
[2] *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1900, p. 571.

have said to a correspondent,[1] 'to state over again, as emphatically as you know how, that I have no intention whatever of borrowing.' Ten weeks later (May 12th) the Imperial *ukase* authorizing the loan was published."[2] "Destiny is more powerful than human purpose," the Russians would say. "God means Russia to rule Asia."

Apart from such theological explanation, however, there is a natural and wholly intelligible explanation of much of Russia's development. Mr. Wallace sets this forth:

"An agricultural people, employing merely the primitive methods of agriculture, has always a strong tendency to widen its borders. The natural increase of population demands a constantly-increasing production of grain, whilst the primitive methods of cultivation exhaust the soil and steadily diminish its productivity. With regard to this stage of economic development, the modest assertion of Malthus, that the supply of food does not increase so rapidly as the population, often falls far short of the truth. As the population increases, the supply of food may decrease not only relatively but absolutely. When a people finds itself in this critical position it must adopt one of two alternatives; either it must prevent the increase of population, or it must increase the production of food. In the former case it may legalize the custom of 'exposing' infants, as was done in ancient Greece; or it may regularly sell a large portion of the young women and children, as was done until very recently in Circassia; or the surplus population may emigrate to foreign lands, as the Scandinavians did in the ninth century, and as we ourselves are doing in a more peaceable fashion at the present day. The other alternative may be effected either by extending the area of cultivation or by improving the system of agriculture.

"The Russo-Slavonians, being an agricultural people, experienced this difficulty, but for them it was not serious. A convenient way of escape was plainly indicated by their peculiar geographical position. They were not hemmed in by lofty mountains or stormy seas. To the south and east—at their very doors, as it were—lay a boundless expanse of thinly-populated virgin soil, awaiting the labour of the husbandman and ready to repay it most liberally. The peasantry, therefore, instead of exposing their infants, selling their daughters, or sweeping the seas as vikings, simply spread out towards the east and south. This was at once the most natural and wisest course, for of all the expedients for preserving the equilibrium between population and food-production, increasing the area of cultivation is, under the circumstances just described, the easiest and most effective. Theoretically, the same result might have been obtained by improving the method of agriculture, but practically this was impossible. Intensive culture is not likely to be adopted so long as expansion is easy. High farming is a thing

[1] *Daily Telegraph*, March 5, 1901.
[2] Norman, *All the Russias*, p. 366, footnote.

to be proud of when there is a scarcity of land, but it would be absurd to attempt it where there is abundance of virgin soil in the vicinity.

"The process of expansion, thus produced by purely economic causes, was accelerated by influences of another kind, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The increase in the number of officials, the augmentation of the taxes, the merciless exactions of the Voyevods and their subordinates, the transformation of the peasants and 'free wandering people' into serfs, the ecclesiastical reforms and consequent persecution of the schismatics, the frequent conscriptions and violent reforms of Peter the Great, these and other kinds of oppression made thousands flee from their homes and seek a refuge in the free territory, where there were no officials, no tax-gatherers, and no proprietors. But the State, with its army of tax-gatherers and officials, followed close on the heels of the fugitives, and those who wished to preserve their liberty had to advance still further. Notwithstanding the efforts of the authorities to retain the population in the localities actually occupied, the wave of colonization moved steadily onwards.

"The vast territory which lay open to the colonists consisted of two contiguous regions, separated from each other by no mountains or rivers, but widely differing from each other in many respects. The one, comprising all the northern part of Eastern Europe and of Asia, even unto Kamchatka, may be roughly described as a land of forests, intersected by many rivers, and containing numerous lakes and marshes; the other, stretching southwards to the Black Sea, eastwards far away into Central Asia, is for the most part what Russians call 'the steppe,' and Americans would call the prairies."[1]

The political and racial ambition and the sense of the need of access to the sea have been superadded to the expansion due to agricultural necessities; but the latter alone would have led to the natural political development of the empire. And the notion that this development could stop at the limit of buffer states, once very prevalent, grows increasingly untenable. Such buffer states in Asia become refuges for rascality, or through their weakness, simply provide grounds of difficulty and jealousy. Russian expansion in Asia has been on this account perfectly legitimate. Mr. Wallace's judgment here is quite just:

"'Where, then,' asks the alarmed Russophobist, 'is the aggression of Russia to stop? Must we allow her to push her frontier forward to our own, and thereby expose ourselves to the danger of those conflicts which inevitably arise between nations that possess contiguous territory?' To this I reply that Russia must push forward her fron-

[1] Wallace, *Russia*, pp. 580, 581.

tier until she reaches a country possessing a Government which is able and willing to keep order within its boundaries, and to prevent its subjects from committing depredations on their neighbours. As none of the petty States of Central Asia seem capable of permanently fulfilling this condition, it is pretty certain that the Russian and British frontiers will one day meet. Where they will meet depends upon ourselves. If we do not wish our rival to overstep a certain line, we must ourselves advance to that line. As to the complications and disputes which inevitably arise between contiguous nations, I think they are fewer and less dangerous than those which arise between nations separated from each other by a small state which is incapable of making its neutrality respected, and is kept alive simply by the mutual jealousy of rival powers. Germany does not periodically go to war with Holland and Russia, though separated from them by a mere artificial frontier, whilst France and Austria have never been prevented from going to war with each other by the broad intervening territory. The old theory that great powers may be made to keep the peace by interposing small independent states between them is long since exploded; and even if it were true it would be inapplicable in the case under consideration, for there is nothing worthy of being called an independent state between Russian territory and British India."[1]

The Russians further justify this great movement over Asia by the contention that they themselves are Asiatic, that they are only appropriating their own, assuming responsibilities which fall to them, and which no purely Western people can discharge, that they alone are able to establish order, to keep at peace these diverse races and religions, and to assimilate and civilize them. It is customary in the West to assent to these claims, and to contrast the policies of Russia and Great Britain at this point. "Russia assimilates, while England merely superimposes her authority," says Professor Reinsch. "Russians are fond of likening their empire to Rome; the acid by which national and local organisms are dissolved into their elements, to be precipitated again in the form of a higher unity, is the Russian national spirit. If Russian advance should be allowed to go on naturally and gradually as it has in the past, the power of that nation in Asia would become almost irresistible; England in opposing her

[1] Wallace, *Russia*, p. 596.

would have the unfortunate position of Carthage. She would have to rely for her defence on unassimilated subject nations, while Russia could summon against her the vast masses that will gradually become penetrated with the spirit of Russian polity and civilization. In general, economic considerations are of primary importance in British expansion; in the expansion of Russia, they are only secondary." [1] "Wherever Russia goes," says the editor of *The Independent*, "she not only conquers, but assimilates." [2] On the other hand, Mr. Wallace declared twenty-five years ago:

"Russia's power of expansion has always been much greater than her power of assimilating the annexed population. In annexing the Baltic Provinces, Poland and Finland, she left them a very large amount of administrative autonomy. At the present day Finland has its own officials, its own coinage, and its own custom-house; and the Russians compose less than two per cent. of the population. Even in the provinces, which have no peculiar administrative autonomy, the population is, as I have shown in preceding chapters, very heterogeneous. Wherever the Russians and the foreign race are in different stages of economic development—as for example, where the one are agriculturalists and the other lead a pastoral life—no amalgamation has taken place. Where no such economic obstacles exist, an equally efficient barrier is often formed by religion. Tribes that have no higher religion than a rude polytheism easily become Orthodox and Russian; but the Mohammedans, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants, never become Russians in the full sense of the term. Thus, we find among the subjects of the Czar a great many distinct nationalities, often living in close proximity. Not to mention numerous Turanian tribes, we may say that the Russo-German, the Pole, the Finlander, the Georgian, and the Armenian, differ from each other as widely as the Frenchman, the German, the Italian, and the Englishman." [3]

Russia assimilates by letting alone, if that is assimilation. She stops crime. She does not touch character save as the cessation of uncontrolled crime affects it. She does give a measure of liberty. The Caucasus has been the goal of the persecuted in Turkey and

[1] Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 222.
[2] *The Independent*, Editorial, "Eurasia," May 4, 1899, p. 1246.
[3] Wallace, *Russia*, pp. 587f.

Persia. During the Armenian massacres numerous companies of ragged refugees managed to cross the border, and found an asylum under the secure protection of the Czar; but it was tranquillity, that was all. It was not civilization, the hope of free progress or liberty. It was order under absolutism. Just how the Russian influence works at its best in Asia is illustrated by its course among the Kirghese and the Mongols:

"To every inch of ground acquired Russia brought immediately two things: commercial advantages and a firm military rule which protected the people from the hordes of robbers which roamed the steppes. Russian officials made it profitable for Russian merchants to sell goods to Kirghese chiefs on credit in order to promote friendship and intercourse, and at the beginning of the present century courts were established in which Kazak elders took their seats beside Russian judges. Observing that the Kirghese were strong Mohammedans, Mullahs were employed to spread that religion, and the Koran was published by the Russian Government in the native tongue. At the same time prophets of Mahomet were being cast into prison in European Russia for propagating their religion.

"Russia's first mission in Central Asia was protection. The success she achieved among the Tartars and Kirghese was repeated among the Mongols. Under China the Mongols had no protection. Their fruitful country was ever a rich field for robbers. The messengers were hurried to Peking never so fast, the cumbersome Chinese military always arrived late, and when they came were as bad as the robbers, for they lived on the fat of the land and were in no hurry to be gone. When Russia came all this was done away. Military posts were erected at convenient distances. China never built a road. Russia did this at once. China allowed no communication with the world. Russia swung her wires over forest and plain. China imposed a wobegone currency. Baskets of tea, raw silver and brass cash passed as mediums of exchange. In a transaction it was as difficult to find a satisfactory medium of exchange as to strike the original bargain. Chinamen drove the Mongol from business. Russian influence established him in business and with a good currency. 'It is no uncommon thing,' wrote the brave English missionary, Gilmour, 'to meet with respectable men, educated, intelligent and wealthy, who were born mere Mongols, but who have been elevated to the civilization and intelligence of the nineteenth century by the happy influence of the judicious measures adopted by the Russian Government for the amelioration of its more lowly subjects.'"[1]

Russian rule represents a real gain in Asia. But is it the imposition of a good that is a permanent prohibition of the best? The

[1] *The Independent*, November 1, 1900, Art., "The Better Side of Russian Rule in Asia," pp. 2632f.

Russian contends that it is the establishment of what is best in the conditions. Our ideal is contradictory. The two civilizations stand in real and direct antagonism; the Russian ideal of an autocracy maintaining order over people kept in falsehoods because these are best for them; the Western ideal of liberty in which each man is given freedom and summoned to know all the truth.

Postponing the attempt to reach a balanced judgment, let us introduce the religious element of the problem, deferred until the political expansion had been considered. The religious element is a vital one in its relation to Russian character and the Russian State.

It is not necessary to trace the history of the Greek Church. The only two questions of interest here are first, the relation of the Church to the State and to its expansion, and second, its present character and influence.

1. There have been four stages in the development of the relations of the Russian Church and State. "These are, broadly: first, the period of the complete dependence of the Church upon the See of Constantinople; second, the transition period, during which it gradually acquired autonomy, and approached the time of its emancipation from foreign control; then, the period of the patriarchate, when its ecclesiastical independence had been definitely established, and it rose to its highest power; and finally, that of the Holy Synod, when it became subordinate to the State, and which still continues."[1] It was Peter the Great who demolished the independence of the Church and made it a department of the State. He proposed to prevent all clashing of Church and State, and to make the former a mere auxiliary of the latter, a fountain of sanction and support of the autocracy. It is an article of the code that every Russian subject shall make confession and partake of communion, at least once in every year; and the civil and military authorities are, with the clergy, charged with the execution of the law. The law is not rigidly enforced, but it is there, reducing religious duties to the level of police regulations.[2] The control of the Church instead of being in the hands of a patriarch who might be a powerful and independent character like the great Nikon, is vested in the Holy Synod, which is dependent upon the will of the Emperor. "The

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 148f.

Holy Synod takes precedence over all the other great bodies of the State; it replaces the patriarch, with all his rights and privileges; originally, it was more of a representative assembly, comprising the different ranks of the clergy, and bishops were in a numerical minority; now, in accordance with the practice of the early Church, which placed authority in the hands of its bishops, the episcopal element predominates. The three metropolitans of Kiev, Moscow, and St. Petersburg are entitled to membership by right of their offices, and the latter is the presiding officer; the Exarch of Georgia is also admitted upon the same ground; the other members are appointed by the Emperor—some for definite periods, others to hold office during his pleasure; some in full and regular standing, others as supernumeraries or assistants; they comprise four or five archbishops, bishops, or archimandrites, and two arch-priests of the secular clergy, one of whom usually is the chaplain and confessor of the Emperor, the other the chaplain-general of the army. The Synod has its seat at St. Petersburg, and is permanently in session. The Emperor is represented by a delegate bearing a title corresponding to attorney-general (ober-procurator), who assists at the meetings, but who is not, properly speaking, a member; this official is always a layman, frequently a military officer of high rank, and is the personification of the civil authority; he acts as the intermediary between the Emperor and the Synod; all communications pass by his hands; he presents to the Synod all laws projected by the Government, and submits all decisions of the Synod for imperial sanction; he proposes all measures, directs all business, and executes all decrees; no act is valid without his assent, and he has the right of veto, if any action of the Synod appears to him contrary to the laws of the State."[1] The Procurator is the real ruler of the Church, and he is a layman, and often a military man. He is the only channel of communication between the Synod and the Emperor, and he can shape the Synod by dismissals and appointments to do his will. By this thoroughly civil control of the Church it is reduced to a department of state, and is used by the Government for its ends just as the army or navy is used.[2]

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, pp. 156f.

[2] It has been alleged that there is another peculiar civil relationship of the Church to the State. "Since the Napoleonic wars," says Colonel McCarty, formerly United States Military Attaché at St. Petersburg, and later Attaché in

2. So much for the relation of Church and State. What is to be said as to the present character and influence of the Church? Is there any religion in such a state machine as this? Perhaps a distinction should be made between the Church and the people. Mr. Volkhovsky makes this discrimination: "A religion can win over human souls and be secure in its acquisitions, only in the case of its giving something for the ideal aspiration of man—its supplying such moral basis for every-day conduct as would be in accordance with the natural human instincts of sociability, self-preservation and self-respect—its being able to stand the test of human criticism. But the present Russian State Church is unable to give anything of this kind. It is one of the departments of state administration, ruled on the strictest bureaucratic basis by 102 bishops and sixty-four offices, called 'consistories,' headed by the central office, termed the Holy Synod, which is in the hollow of a lay state official's hand, known as its

the service of the Czar Alexander III, "the Russian Church has had, in addition to its ordinary work, one great and specific charge intrusted to it, the hoarding of money in order to restrict the power of rival nations. Every year since 1815, Russia has added a vast sum to her secret hoard of gold. In no war since then has she ever used a rouble of the money thus laid by. There are two great sources of revenue, both of them fully under control, and where the world could know nothing of them—Russian mines, and contributions to the Church. The Russian Church is both custodian and collector. Russia, in earlier days, was the one great gold producing country. Since Peter's day she has been a large producer of gold, though much larger than generally known, because only a part of the gold mined in Russia—it is mined by the Government—has been reported. It has been secretly put into the Church fund. The Russian mines were established by Peter the Great. But they have been very largely developed since, and in recent years gold bearing rock has been worked to some extent, though the great bulk of Russia's gold output has come from placer mining by convicts.

"A secret fund has been created by collections from the people through the Church. In Russia all citizens belong to the Russian Church. Every officer and soldier and every Government official and employer from the Czar to the poorest moujik contributes weekly to the Church. It has been said, by those who had means to know, that Church expenditures have not, for eighty years past, exceeded one-half of Church collections. Twenty years or more ago the author had some means of knowing the extent of the accumulations from the Russian mines. And four or five years afterwards it became his fortune to be able to learn something of the total from the mines and the Church collections. At this time Russia's gold hoard approximated three billions of dollars, and to-day it is nearly four billions at the rate of accumulation. Fully half of Russia's hoard has come from gold not counted in the world's production because secretly treasured. This information comes partly from the statements of one of the highest officials of the Church at St. Petersburg, who is familiar with the extent of the accumulation" (*The Independent*, October 11, 1900, p. 2450, Art., "Russia's Hoarded Gold." See also *Christendom Anno Domini, 1901*, Vol. I, p. 392, Art. of Professor Katenbusch on "Russia"). An ex-United States minister to Russia says that he never heard of this Church treasure and gives little faith to the story.

procurator. The soul of the Russian Established Church as a Christian religious body departed centuries ago. There is nothing that body now dreads so much as religious enthusiasm.

"Does this mean, however, that the religious side of the Russian people's spiritual life is at a standstill? Far from it. The Russian people is more spiritually alive than ever. It has not one, but several genuinely popular churches in the sense that word had in the first centuries of Christianity. It is fervently seeking for truth. But all these things must not be looked for within the barren field of official orthodoxy. The live Christianity of the Russian people is in its sectarianism, and M. Pobedonostseff's recent report gives ample proof of that." [1]

On the other hand, Miss Isabel F. Hapgood maintains: "As for the present state of the Church, I cannot see that there is any difference between it and that of any other truly spiritual branch of the Catholic Church Universal. As for its spiritual possibilities, I consider them quite as great as in any other branch of the Christian Church. The Russian Church and people are civilizing and Christianizing Asia; but they do it, as a matter of course, as part of the daily duty, and talk very little about it. Let me say, in conclusion, that the Russian Church nobly endures the one great and abiding test—it produces millions of Christians of the old-fashioned, gospel pattern, who live their lives with gentleness, patience, long-suffering, self-renunciation, faith and love, and die with a simple calm to match. What more is required?" [2] Miss Hapgood paints a bright picture. Others do not claim so much. What a Russian statesman's idea of the Church is is indicated in Pobedonostseff's essay on "The Church," in *Reflections of a Russian Statesman.* The opening paragraphs of this essay will suffice:

"The more we consider the distinctive ethnical features of religion the more firmly we are convinced how unattainable is a union of creeds—by a factitious accord in dogma,—on the principle of reciprocal confessions in immaterial things. The essential in religion cannot be expressed on paper, or categorically formulated. The most essential, the most persistent, and the most precious things in all religious creeds are as elusive and as insusceptible of definition as va-

[1] *Christendom Anno Domini, 1901*, Vol. I, pp. 406f.
[2] *The Outlook*, June 20, 1896, Art., "The Russian Church," p. 1145.

rieties of light and shade—as feelings born of an infinite series of emotions, conceptions, and impressions. The essential elements are so involved with the psychical nature of the race, with the principles of their moral philosophy, that it is futile to separate one from the other. The children of different races and different faiths, in many relations may feel as brethren, and give to one another their hands; but to feel themselves worshippers in the same temple, joined in religious communion, they must have lived together long and closely, they must sympathize with the conditions of each other's existence, they must be bound by the most intimate links in the depths of their souls. A German who has lived long in our country may come unconsciously to believe as Russians believe, and to feel at home in the Russian Church. He becomes one of us, and is in complete spiritual communion with us. But that a Protestant community, situated far away, judging us by report could, through abstract accord in dogma and ritual, combine with us in one Church in organic alliance, and become one with us in spirit, is inconceivable. No reunion of Churches based upon accord in doctrine has ever succeeded; the false principle of such an alliance must sooner or later manifest itself, its fruit is everywhere an increase not of love but of mutual estrangement and hatred.

"May God forbid that we should condemn one another because of faith; let each believe as he will! But each man has a faith which is his refuge, which satisfies his spiritual needs, which he loves; and it is impossible for him when brought into contact with another faith not to feel that it is not his own, that it is inhospitable and cold. Let reason prove, with abstract arguments, that all men pray to one God. Sentiment is repelled by reasoning such as this; sometimes sentiment feels that in a strange Church it prays to a strange god.

"Many will laugh at this sentiment, or condemn it as superstition and fanaticism. They will be wrong. Sentiment is not always delusive, it sometimes expresses truth more directly and justly than reason itself.

"The Protestant Church and the Protestant faith are cold and inhospitable to Russians. For us to recognize this faith would be bitter as death. This is a direct sentiment. But there are many good reasons to justify it. The following is one which especially strikes us by its obviousness.

"In the polemics of theologians, in religious dissensions, in the conscience of every man and of every race, one of the greatest questions is that of *works*. Which is the greater, works or faith? We know that on this question the Latin doctrine differs from the Protestant. In his theological compositions, the late M. Khomyakoff well explained how deceptive is the scholastic-absolute treatment of this question. Union of faith with works, like identity of words and thought, of deeds and words, is an ideal unattainable by human nature, as all things absolute are unattainable—an ideal eternally troubling and eternally alluring the faithful soul. Faith without works is sterile. Faith opposed to works offends us with the consciousness of internal falsehood; but in the infinite world of externals around mankind what can work, what can any possible work signify without faith?

"Prove me thy faith by thy deeds,—a terrible command. What can a believer answer when his questioner seeks to recognize the faith by the works. If such a question were put by a Protestant to a member of the Orthodox Church, what would the answer be? He could only hang his head. He would feel that he had nothing to show, that all was imperfect and disorderly. But in a minute he might lift up his head and say: 'We have nothing to show, sinners as we are, yet neither are you beyond reproach. Come to us, live with us, see our faith, study our sentiments, and you will learn to love us. As for our works, you will see them such as they are.' From such an answer ninety-nine out of a hundred would turn with a contemptuous laugh. The truth is that we do not know, and dare not show our works.

"It is not so with them. They can show their works, and, to speak the truth, they have much to show—works and institutions existing, and preserved for centuries in perfect order. See, says the Catholic Church, what I mean to the community which hears me and which serves me; which I created, and which I sustain. Here are works of love, works of faith, apostolic works; here are deeds of martyrdom; here are regiments of believers, united as one, which I send to the ends of the earth. Is it not plain that grace is in me, and has been in me from the beginning until now?

"See, says the Protestant Church, I do not tolerate falsehood, deception, or superstition. My works conform to faith, and reason is

reconciled with it. I have consecrated labour, human relations, and family happiness; by faith I destroy all idleness and superstition; I establish justice, honesty and social order. I teach daily, and my doctrine accords with life. It educates generations in the performance of honourable work, and in good manners. My teaching renews humanity in virtue and justice. My mission is to destroy with the sword of words and deeds corruption and hypocrisy everywhere. Is it not plain that the grace of God is in me, since I see things from the true standpoint?

"To the present day Protestants and Catholics contend over the dogmatic signification of works in relation to faith. But in spite of the total contradiction of their theological doctrines, both set works at the head of their religion. In the Latin Church works are the justification, the redemption, and the witness of grace. The Lutherans regard works, and, at the same time, religion itself, from the practical point of view. Works for them are the end of religion; they are the touchstone which proves religious and canonical truth, and it is on this point more than on any other that our doctrine differs from the doctrine of Protestantism. It is true that these doctrines do not constitute a dogma of the Lutheran Church, but they pervade its teaching. Beyond all dispute they have an important practical value for this world; and therefore many would set up the Protestant Church as a model and an ideal for us. But the Russian, in the depths of a believing soul, will never accept such a view. 'Godliness is profitable unto all things,' says the apostle, but utility is hardly one of its natural attributes. The Russians, as others, know that they ought to live by religion, and feel how ill their lives accord with their beliefs; but the essence, the end of their faith is not the practical life, but the salvation of their souls, and with the love of religion they seek to embrace all, from the just man who lives according to his faith, to the thief, who, his works notwithstanding, would be pardoned in an instant.

"This practical basis of Protestantism is nowhere shown more plainly than in the Anglican Church, and in the religious spirit of the English people. It accords with the character of the nation as formed by history to direct all thought and action to practical aims, steadfastly and tenaciously pursuing success, and in all things taking those paths and measures which are short and sure. This innate

tendency must seek a moral base, and must construct a system of morals; and it is natural that these moral principles shall seek a sanction in a religious spirit corresponding to their nature. Religion indisputably consecrates the moral principle of activity; its precepts teach us how to live and act; it demands laboriousness, honesty and justice. This no one will dispute. But, in the practical consideration of religion, we pass directly to the question: What of the faith of those who live in idleness, who are dishonest and false, corrupt and disorderly, who cannot control their passions? Such men are heathen, not Christian; he only is a Christian who lives by the law, and in himself bears witness to its power.

"This reasoning is logical in appearance. But who has not asked the question: What is the part in the world and in the Church of the wanton and dishonest, who, in the words of Christ, shall take a higher place in the kingdom of heaven than the just according to the law?"

In other words, the Russian Church rests neither on truth nor on righteousness, but on superstition. This is the contention of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, and it is but too fully justified by the facts. The Orthodox Russian Church is the most unprogressive doctrinally of all Christian Churches. It is fixed and immutable in its traditions and beliefs. The body of Christian doctrine was eternally settled by the Church Councils and cannot be changed. The introduction and history of Christianity in Russia have been such as to condemn the Church to certain errors and limitations. The people were not converted to Christianity. They came over in obedience to their rulers. They were left out of the range of the influences of thought which shaped Europe and produced the Renaissance and Protestantism. The Russian has no part in the intellectual inheritance of Greece and Rome. As to the priest of the Church, Mr. Heard speaks temperately when he says: "He is treated with contumely, deprived of all independence, and drilled to passive submission; his mental culture ceases, perforce, when he leaves the seminary, and he is as incapable of responding to the religious wants of the devout as he is of withstanding the progress of infidelity. Despised by, and isolated from, the community upon which he is dependent, his whole life is a ceaseless, wretched struggle for material existence; all devotional feeling is crushed out of his soul, and re-

ligion, for him, is debased to mere form and ceremonial, by which to earn a precarious subsistence." [1] The Church is probably less religious than the people themselves. It is a case of racial character maintaining religion in spite of ecclesiastical mechanicalism and political control.

For the outstanding characteristic of the Russian *moujik* is his religiousness. "Outside of his purely material interests," says Dr. Washburn, "religion is the only thing he has to think about. It is only on this side that his character has had any chance to develop and race characteristics to show themselves. He is ignorant. He is superstitious. He is often immoral. But he is intensely religious. He believes in God, in Christ, and in the New Testament as firmly as he does in his own existence, and if he is Orthodox he believes equally in the Church. He is ready to make any sacrifice or to die for his faith, and when he realizes that he is not living up to it he suffers bitter remorse. He is capable of living a pure and noble life, as we see in some of the heretical sects. The idea of expiation for sin by voluntary suffering, as Christ suffered for the sins of the world, is perhaps the most general and most characteristic of all their religious ideas. This is brought out clearly in most of the Russian novels. As the influence of this idea can be better illustrated than described, I venture to quote here a story published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1883, and vouched for by Count de Vogue as true. It is given in the words of the Russian nobleman who narrated it. It is somewhat long, but it illustrates many things in Russian life as well as the special point which we are discussing:

"'In my early youth I knew an old peddler who was called Uncle Fedia. No one knew him by any other name. No one could say whence he came nor whether he had ever followed a more Christian trade. He was not loved by the people, first because his trade as a pedlar was one which good Christians leave to the Jews and gipsies, and with his old flat hat, torn foxskin cloak and hangdog look he was more like a vagabond than an honest Russian peasant, with his cap, his sheepskin coat, his frank face, and smiling lips.

"'Besides this the peasants suspected him of being in league with the devil. He was accused in the great houses of being a thief, and by the officials of being a smuggler. There was never a drunken brawl in a tavern that all the blame of it was not put upon this poor stranger—although there was no evidence

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, pp. 175f.

against him, except that his passport was not always in proper order. The children caught the infection, hooted and stoned him in the streets.

"'As for me, I always liked Uncle Fedia. He was connected in my mind with all the fête-days, for it was then that he always came to our house and opened his pack, full of wonderful things. He even gave me credit when my pockets were empty and when all were abusing him. I often felt inclined to defend him, but I was already old enough to know that one loses his time defending those whom the world condemns.

"'The last time that Uncle Fedia came to our house was a Sunday in Lent, a cold, stormy day, and just at evening. He begged to spend the night in our barn, but my mother was afraid of him, and my father ordered him off. He went away, but I ran after him and told him that he could stay in the granary of an old mill not far away. "Thank you," he said, "but the village is not far distant, and if I am buried in the snow before I get there no one will miss me; Uncle Fedia counts for but little in God's world." I felt sad, and was sure that he was not a bad man. The next day I was ashamed of my simplicity, when my father, entering the room, all excited, told us the news of the day. "Thank God I did not listen to you," he said. "I congratulate you on your *protégé*." Then he told how the house of a neighbour, a man who had been hard on the peasants, had been burnt down during the night. My father had no doubt that it was the work of Uncle Fedia, and, in fact, they arrested him for it during the day. A judicial inquiry was opened, but, in spite of all the efforts of the prosecutor, nothing could be proved against him. The evidence seemed rather to inculpate a certain Akoulina, a servant in the house of our unfortunate neighbour. This woman, dismissed in the night before, after a storm of invective, had reached her house the next morning, and could not prove how she had spent the night. The justice at once dismissed Uncle Fedia, but with threats and an order to quit the district at once.

"'Three months later the trial of Akoulina came on, and crowds were present at it. My father was called as a witness, and consented to take me with him in the carriage. He left me at the stable with the horses, and advised me to be patient; but he had not counted on my curiosity. I followed him to the court-room, and there, hidden behind a corner of the stone near the door, I listened with all my ears. You know our provincial courts. They are all alike—a bare hall, a double range of benches, a platform, a table for the judges, and over their heads, on a whitewashed wall, a great round clock and a Christ. That day the hall was crowded with all classes of people—nobles, functionaries and peasants. There was the prisoner; a little behind her one of her relatives, amusing two little girls, and holding a new-born baby. All my attention was fixed on Akoulina. She was young, erect, and strong, neither pretty nor ugly, but a true specimen of a Russian girl. She seemed scarcely to hear what the clerk was reading. She looked neither at the judges nor at the crowd. Her eyes were fixed on the great white face of the clock. Now and then she would suddenly turn to the door. She seemed to expect some one whom the hour ought to bring. The

prosecutor read the evidence. It was overwhelming. The husband of Akoulina had lately died, a drunkard. She remained a widow with three children, and had always had the reputation of being ugly and unmanageable. Dismissed and beaten for her insolence by the lady of Ivanofka, she had left the house with threats of vengeance only a few days before the fire. She had repeated the invariable menace of our peasants—"I will let loose the red cock." In the evening she had said the same thing to a man of whom she had bought a bundle of straw. Then she had disappeared. The next day she returned to her house worn out with fatigue, covered with mud, and without her straw, appearing to ignore the fire which had occurred in the night. She declared that she had taken her straw to a certain isolated barn belonging to her cousin, Anton Petrovitch, who had quitted the country immediately after and shipped as a sailor at Odessa. But the absence of this witness was considered of little importance by the court, and the prosecutor concluded by demanding the condemnation of Akoulina and her deportation to the mines of Siberia. Many witnesses were examined, but without eliciting anything favourable. The peasants all maintained that attitude which is invariable to them in a court of justice. They trembled; they eluded every direct question. They knew nothing. They made no charges, and said nothing which could possibly compromise themselves. One old woman alone had the courage to say that Akoulina was killing herself with hard work, that her three children were angels of the good Lord, and that it would be hard for them to have their mother sent to Siberia.

"'The advocate assigned to Akoulina—a little beardless blonde, abashed by the presence of so many grandees—simply appealed to the pity of the court, and then made a speech on the emancipation of the serfs which ought, he said, to secure harmony among the different classes. Akoulina paid no attention to what was going on. Her eyes were fixed on the clock and the door. It was plain that only one single idea occupied her mind. A word from her cousin Anton Petrovitch could save her, and she could only be saved if Anton entered the door and said the word. Every one said that Anton was lost, but she expected his arrival as by a miracle. As the hands of the clock moved on, her feverish anxiety increased. The judge interrogated her for the last time. She had but one answer: "Let them bring Anton Petrovitch, and he will say so." She said it with such an accent of sincerity that it touched many hearts, in spite of the evidence accumulated against her. Even the judge was evidently moved; but what could he do unless Anton should appear by a miracle? And then the children; it was heart-rending; they were playing so quietly, intimidated by the crowd, but full of sweet innocence. Involuntarily the judge had turned more than once to look at them.

"'When the sentence was read Akoulina fell to the ground, but stretching her hands towards her children. Then, crouched on the floor, overcome with weeping, lifting her hands and eyes to the Christ on the wall, she burst out: "Christ, my Lord, save me! O Saviour, have mercy on my children! Have pity on

Thy servant!" Moved by the cry, all the peasants involuntarily rose, kneeled down, and made the sign of the Cross. My heart was breaking. It was the stillness of death. It was the clock which broke the silence, slowly tolling out the hour of twelve. It was a funeral knell which moved every heart. The sound roused Akoulina; she rose to her feet and cast one despairing look at the door. All eyes followed her, as if Anton was about to appear. I looked eagerly myself. The door did not open, but, to my astonishment, I saw near it a foxskin cloak, with its meagre folds and its odour of cold and snow which I well knew. Uncle Fedia had entered a moment before and was crouching behind me. His little eyes wandered timidly over the audience, from the judge to the accused, then rested on the children. When the judge began again to read the sentence, Uncle Fedia scratched his head and coughed with an absent air. He looked at the children, at the Christ, and suddenly, with great care not to touch any one, he advanced with timid steps into the empty passageway before the judge. Then he knelt down, made the sign of the Cross, and took off his hat. "What do you want?" said the judge, interrupting his reading. Uncle Fedia answered with a humble and scarcely audible voice: "Pardon me, my judge, but this woman is not guilty. I am the sinner. I set the fire." The magistrate looked at him with astonishment. They thought he was mad. They asked his name. The name excited the attention of the audience and suggested something to the judges. They questioned him. He declared that he had slept at the mill. He had met Akoulina going to the house of Anton Petrovitch. After midnight he had secretly left the mill, reached Ivanofka, and set fire to the stables. He had long meditated this revenge for the beating he had received there last year. When they reminded him of his former denials, he demanded whether they had not found at Ivanofka a pot of tar with a certain mark. He had bought this the day before, as they could easily learn. Such a pot had been found, and the astonishment of the judges gave way to a new feeling, in which the audience evidently shared. Perhaps this readiness to condemn him arose from a secret desire to save Akoulina. We were all quite ready to believe that the criminal was this vagabond whom we had first suspected. Was it not divine justice which now forced him to acknowledge his guilt? A feeling of joy and satisfaction took the place of the anguish which we had felt before.

"The judge invited Uncle Fedia to repeat his confession under oath. He seemed to hesitate for a moment, but raising his eyes to the Christ, he took the oath. He was condemned and stood solitary and alone in the midst, his eyes fixed on the floor, overwhelmed with the universal reprobation. I acknowledge that, while I had to confess to myself that my old friend was guilty, I suffered for him. He was sent to the mines of Siberia for ten years, and I slipped some roubles into his hands, and said, "Good-bye, Uncle Fedia." "Thank you, my child," he whispered. "It is nothing. No one will be troubled about it." I remembered then that he had said the same thing when I had last seen him. Outside the peasants surrounded Akoulina and overwhelmed her with felicitations. She could only repeat: "The Lord be praised. O the cursed gipsy who wished to

destroy an innocent woman!" They took her in triumph to the village, and at night they had grand rejoicings at the tavern.

"'It was years after this that, one morning, we saw the priest running breathless into our garden. "O God!" he cried. "O the justice of God! If you only knew what has happened." "I know," said my father; "Ivan has killed himself by falling from his ladder. It is a good thing for the village. He was a savage." "Oh!" said the priest, "but you do not know the most terrible of all. This man, when dying, confessed to me his secret. 'Father,' said he, 'I am a great sinner. It was I who burned Ivanofka to revenge myself on the proprietor for sending my son into the army.' 'What do you mean?' I said. 'It was the peddler Fedia who did it, and is now suffering for it.' 'No, Father,' he replied, 'it was I. He slept in my barn that night, and sold me the pot of tar with which I set the fire. I am sure that he suspected me. The day of the trial of Akoulina he came to me and said: "It is a sad pity. To-day they are going to condemn Akoulina, who is innocent." I threatened him, and he went away trembling. No doubt he had pity upon the poor children, and gave himself up to save them, while I——' And just then he died unforgiven." When we heard all this we brought the priest to the Governor. He wrote to Siberia; but when the reply came it said: "Who can find your Fedia in Siberia, as though there was only one vagabond of that name? Within a year two Fedias have died at the hospital at Tomsk and three at Tobolsk, without speaking of others. We know nothing about him."

"'When it was known in the village that we had accomplished nothing Akoulina brought a basket of eggs to the priest and begged him to celebrate a service for the soul of poor Uncle Fedia. We all went to the church. Never did I pray so sincerely. I understood for the first time then what was read in the Gospel of that day: "*As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world.*" I understood it when I thought of the humble figure of poor Uncle Fedia, trembling in his foxskin coat in the midst of the court, with the scowling faces all around him. Those who abused him then weep now when they think of this despised brother dead in the hospital of Tomsk or Tobolsk, or no one knows where—outcast, alone, and uncared for.'

"This pathetic story needs no comment," adds Dr. Washburn. "We find other types of this same religious spirit in almost all Russian novels, and the religious vagaries of Tolstoi are hardly original with him. They reflect the ideas of the *moujik*. Some years ago the editor of a St. Petersburg review published his recollections of the life of Sutaieff, a peasant of Tver, whom he had personally known. This poor man spent a number of years as a stone-breaker in the streets of St. Petersburg. He made good wages, but he had a heavy heart. His conscience gave him no rest. He went to an Orthodox priest for comfort, and this priest advised him to read the Gospels.

He bought an alphabet and a Bible, and with great difficulty he learned to read. As he read a new world opened before him. He felt that the world in which he lived was not the world of the Gospels, not a world of righteousness and love. He went back to his native village, and first of all distributed the whole of the 1,500 roubles which he had saved among his poor neighbours. He had also some notes for money which he had loaned on interest. These he destroyed. Then he began to read the Bible to his family, and to teach them how to live this life of love. Then he taught it to his neighbours. Before he died he had about a thousand followers—all trying like himself to realize the kingdom of God in their village life. They were naturally persecuted by the Government, which does not encourage independent thought even in those who, like Sutaieff, hold the doctrine that it is wrong to resist any man by force, who offer but a passive resistance to oppression, and who are always ready for martyrdom. The editor of the review exhorted Sutaieff to be cautious and prudent, but he replied: 'The Gospel tells me—*Go and preach; they will persecute you; they will bring you before courts.* I do not fear the courts. Why should I? They will throw me into prison; they will exile me; but I shall find everywhere men to whom I can preach the truth. Here, or in the Caucasus, or anywhere; it makes no difference. God is everywhere. I do not fear those who destroy my body. I fear only the loss of my soul. If they bury me alive I shall not tremble. I wish to suffer for Christ.' Here is a poor peasant in the depths of Russia with the spirit of John Huss, the great Slavic reformer; and he is not alone. He is a type. He illustrates in many ways the character of the *moujik*. He is not simply religious. He not only accepts the New Testament as the Word of God, but is ready to follow its teachings to the letter as he understands it, and to die for it if necessary. This is true, not only of the heretical sects like the Stundists, but of the orthodox as well. The spirit is the same. They differ only in their conception of what Christianity demands of them."[1]

This is the spirit of the common people in the great race which claims that its mission is just beginning. Dr. Washburn says the spirit of intense religiousness is found both among the Orthodox and

[1] *Contemporary Review*, Art., "The Coming of the Slav," January, 1898, pp. 4–10.

in the dissenting sects. It is in the latter and in the attitude of the Government towards them that we may find some light upon the question of the relation of this expansion of Russia to the missionary enterprise.

According to *The Statesman's Year Book*, "there are no exact figures as to the numbers of adherents of different creeds—many dissenters being inscribed under the head of Greek Orthodox; they are only estimated as follows:—Orthodox Greek Catholics, exclusive of the army and navy, seventy-one per cent.; United Church and Armenians, one per cent.; Roman Catholics, nine per cent.; Protestants, five per cent.; Jews, three per cent.; Mohammedans, nine per cent.: others, two per cent." [1]

The Quarterly Register for November, 1897, contained an article on "The Religious Movement in Russia," by Ivan Kochanoff, a Stundist exile, in which he gave the following estimate:

Greek Orthodox Church,	75,000,000
Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists,	15,000,000
Staroveri,	10,000,000
Khlysti, Skoptsy, and others,	3,000,000
Molokani,	3,000,000
Doukhobortsi,	30,000
Stundists of various parties,	300,000

The largest body of the "Rascol," *i. e.*, "the split" or "Dissenters," is the Staroveri or Old Believers, who oppose innovation and change. They resisted the reforms of Nikon, and were outraged at the course of Peter the Great in introducing foreign customs and ideas. "The Old Believers were, and are still, upholders of ancient usages, as well as of ancient creeds; they are old Russians, Slavophiles, in the fullest sense, Asiatic, Oriental in their opposition to change or progress; they still look back to the days of their fathers as the golden age, and see no hope nor encouragement in what the future may have to offer. This spirit, which has always been a characteristic of the Russian people generally, has, nurtured and fostered by religious enthusiasm, been one of the strongest influences against which modern civilization, aided by Government support, has had to contend. It explains in some degree the crude revolutionary move-

[1] *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1902, p. 987.

ments which have at times temporarily disturbed the empire. Ignorant and fanatical opposition to authority has frequently led to impatience of all control, political or moral, and given rise to the wildest theories of socialism and communism." [1] Some of the Rascol sects have gone to extremes of immorality or fanaticism. "The 'Dietooubiisti,' or Child-killers, felt it a religious duty to slay new-born infants, in order that their souls, innocent of sin, might be sure of heaven without risk of damnation; some known as Stranglers, or Fellers (Doushilstchiki, or Tioukalstchiki), conceived that a violent death was the true way of salvation, pleading in grim earnestness that 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence; the violent take it by force,' and piously dispatched their relatives and friends by strangulation or blows, in case of mortal illness; others, who were very numerous in the early days of the Rascol, the Philipovtsi, disciples of one Philip, who were also called Burners (Sojigateli), preached redemption by suicide and purification by fire. In the wilds of Siberia and in the Ural Mountains hundreds, whole families at a time, threw themselves into the flames of their burning houses, kindled by their own hands, or offered themselves up on funeral pyres, with prayers and songs, as a holocaust unto the Lord." [2] Excessive as many of these developments have been, they testify to the profound religiousness of the people. Outside the Rascol are erratic sects like the Khlysti or Flagellants, the Skoptsi or Eunuchs, and the Shakounis or Jumpers, on one hand, and the reformatory, Protestant sects of the Doukhobortsi, or Champions of the Holy Spirit, the Molokanis or Milk Drinkers, and the Stundists. The Doukhobortsi are well known through the immigration of a large company of them to Canada. The Molokanis are found for the most part in the Caucasus. They have no priesthood. Their elders are chosen by themselves, have no priestly character or garb, and read and expound the Bible to them. Mr. Heard describes their earnest ways:

"'God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth;' this is the fundamental maxim of their creed, which they apply and follow out with the inflexible logic of the Russian peasant. All ceremonious observances during prayer, the repeated cross-signing, the 'Pokloni' or genu-

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, p. 196.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 203f.

flexions and prostrations, dear to the heart of the Rascolnik and the Orthodox, they abstain from; the holy images, which all, save the most fanatic of the Bexpopovtsi, worship and revere, they deny as useless, unmeaning symbols. 'God is a Spirit,' they repeat, 'and images are but idols. A picture is not Christ; it is but a bit of painted board. We believe in Christ, not a Christ of brass, nor of silver, nor of gold, the work of men's hands, but in Christ, the Son of God, Saviour of the world.'

"Their idea of a Church is according to the words of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' They have no sacred edifices. 'Solomon built himself a house, but the Almighty dwells not in temples made by the hands of men;' 'the heart of man is God's only temple.'

"Their services are simple and plain; they meet at each other's houses to listen to the Scriptures, repeat the Lord's Prayer, and sing Psalms.

"They acknowledge the sacraments only in their spiritual sense; while they meet and break bread together on the anniversary of the Last Supper, they do so in commemoration of the event, and attach no religious or mysterious significance to the act. 'The true communion of the body and blood of Christ is,' they say, 'to read and meditate upon His Word; all else is vanity.'

"Of baptism they declare: 'We understand, not the earthly water, but the spiritual cleansing of our souls from sin in faith, and the destruction of the old Adam within us, with all his works.'

"Of confession: 'We hold by Paul; confess your sins one to another, and pray for one another; anything further we do not allow.'

"Regarding prayers for the dead they are silent.

"These statements are taken from confessions of faith, drawn up, not for their own use, but for their justification with the Government, and may be liable to suspicion in some particulars, but they are corroborated by what can be ascertained of their practices. The conclusion of their profession is thoroughly Protestant in its character. 'Besides the Holy Sacraments, we accept the Word of God and inward faith as our guides. We do not consider ourselves as not sinful, nor as holy, but work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, in the hope of attaining it solely, and alone, through belief in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and the fulfillment of the commands of the Lord; we have no power of ourselves to affect this, but obtain it only through living faith in our Intercessor and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.'"[1]

The Stundists derive their name from "Stunden" or leisure hour, which they devote to the study of the Bible. The movement grew out from the German Lutheran communities in southwestern Russia, and represents a simple and ignorant, but earnest and devoted

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, pp. 275f.

Protestantism.[1] To think that Russia is a solid unit religiously is greatly to err. The Orthodox Church is seamed with heresy and error, and the spirit of life is stirring in the remotest corners of the Empire. The human mind must work on something, and shut off from politics, and science, in remote forest-valleys or on lonely steppes, the Russian peasant thinks on religion, and he does not always think in the moulds of the Orthodox Church.

"The sects of which mention has been made," says Mr. Heard, "are but a few of the many recently brought to light. The vitality and persistent energy of the sectarian spirit are remarkable, inasmuch as most of the causes provoking its manifestation either exist no longer, or are rapidly disappearing. Effects, however, are often perceived after the first impulse has ceased to act. Sect begets sect, as the plant is produced by its yearly seed. It is hopeless to expect to stifle the spiritual aspirations of a vigorous, quick-witted, eager race, and to arrive at the dead level of unity of faith and obedience to one Church, which the Emperor Nicholas conceived to be the consummation most devoutly to be wished; nor is such an achievement desirable; but to check the extravagances resulting from superstition and ignorance, to direct the restless spirit of the people to proper channels and towards a legitimate end, demands wide diffusion of education and knowledge, for 'ignorance is the mother of devotion'; moreover, the gap still yawning between the extremes of Russian society must be bridged over by liberal measures, in accordance with the spirit and requirements of the age. It is a work of time and patience, for the Russian people are tenacious and slow to change. The century and a half, since the days of Peter the Great, have not sufficed to cement the nation together as a homogeneous whole, and less than a generation has elapsed since the abolition of serfdom inaugurated the present era of reform.

"In further explanation of the present mental state of the Russian people, and for better comprehension of the continued eccentric, fantastic manifestations of a religious character, it may be observed that while the ultimate results of the thorough transformation of national life, still progressing, will be to calm and pacify the agita-

[1] Wallace, *Russia*, Chs. XIX, XX; Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, Chs. IX, X, XI; *The Missions of the World*, July, 1894, Art., "The Stundists in Russia"; *Missionary Review of the World*, March, 1894, Art., "Stundism in Russia."

tion which it excites, for the time being it tends to encourage and stimulate aspirations for new things, and these aspirations, in accordance with the character of the race, invariably assume religious guise and expression. Although socialistic ideas, and tendencies of an economic and practical nature, are engrafted upon the doctrinal teachings of many of the new sects, there is among the people a deep-seated, devotional craving which the formalism of the Rascol, and the rigidity of the State Church with its official clergy, fail to satisfy, which inevitably finds relief in new creeds and more spiritual religions, and to which education only can give intelligent direction."[1]

Towards all this dissent which has flourished in Russia for centuries, the Government has pursued no uniform policy. Some czars have persecuted, and some have tolerated. The general theory has been that as there was one Government there must be one Church, and during the reign of Pobedonostseff as Procurator, this theory has been ardently followed. The Stundists have been forced into voluntary exile, or sent off to Siberia. In previous times the Government had transported the Molokanis and Doukhobortsi in the hope of isolating them and breaking up their influence, but their industry and economy have made their new settlements, in the case of the Molokanis, more prosperous than those of their neighbours. Towards all of the Russian dissenting sects the attitude of the State has been in principle hostile. The theory on which it pursues this course while acting so tolerantly towards Mohammedanism in Asia, is set forth by Mr. Wallace:

"To Russian conceptions there are two kinds of heresy, distinguished from each other not by the doctrines held, but by the nationality of the holder. It seems to a Russian in the nature of things that Tartars should be Mohammedans, that Poles should be Roman Catholics, and that Germans should be Protestants; and the mere act of becoming a Russian subject is not supposed to lay the Tartar, the Pole, or the German under any obligation to change his faith. These nationalities are therefore allowed the most perfect freedom in the exercise of their respective religions, so long as they refrain from disturbing by propagandism the divinely-established order of things. This is the received theory, and we must do the

[1] Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, pp. 292f.

Russians the justice to say that they habitually act up to it. If the Government has sometimes attempted to convert alien races, the motive has always been political, and the efforts have never awakened much sympathy among the people at large, or even among the clergy. In like manner the missionary societies which have sometimes been formed in imitation of the Western nations have never received much popular support. Thus with regard to aliens this peculiar theory has led to very extensive religious toleration. Tartars, Poles, and Germans are in a certain sense heretics, but their heresy is natural and justifiable. With regard to the Russians themselves the theory has had a very different effect. If in the nature of things the Tartar is a Mohammedan, the Pole a Roman Catholic, and the German a Protestant, it is equally in the nature of things that the Russian should be a member of the Orthodox Church. On this point the written law and public opinion are in perfect accord. If an Orthodox Russian becomes a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, his heresy is not of the same kind as that of the Pole or the German. No matter how pure and elevated his motives may be, his change of religion is not justifiable; on the contrary, he is amenable to the criminal law, and is at the same time condemned by public opinion as an apostate—almost a traitor." [1]

There have, accordingly, been no missions from Protestant Christianity tolerated in Russia. The Roman Catholics and Lutherans have been recognized as having certain rights, but among these the right of proselytizing from the Orthodox Church has not been admitted. The most careful watch is maintained over passports to keep Protestant ministers from doing more than travel through the country. Even among the Armenians, Nestorians and Protestant sects of the Caucasus no missionaries are able to reside. The one agency which may exert an upheaving influence, and which Russia has endured has been the work of Bible distribution.[2] The Greek Church has never taken the Roman view of the Scriptures and denied them to the common people. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been allowed to work in Russia, and there is a society for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in Russia to which the American

[1] Wallace, *Russia*, pp. 304f.

[2] For an interesting account of the condition fifty years ago see *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1864, pp. 85–89.

Bible Society until 1898 had made annual grants for many years. The Religious Tract Society of London for a good part of the last century carried on an extensive work in cooperation with a local committee in St. Petersburg. Bitter opposition was aroused, however, and Colonel Poschkoff, who was president of the committee, was banished. Bible and tract distribution is still carried on, however, both at St. Petersburg and on the Amur.

If, then, the Russian dream is a great Slav Empire extending from Germany to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic Sea to Persia and India, or even to the Persian Gulf and the Bay of Bengal, if the Church is a department of State and one of its bonds of unity, so that each citizen should be a member of the Church, and if in Russia there is the least possible teleration of any departure from the Orthodox faith, what is likely to be the attitude of Russia towards Christian missions in those parts of Asia which she absorbs?

This has been a practical question to the missionaries in Turkey, Persia and Manchuria, and at times the missionaries in Korea have feared that it may be a practical question to them. If Japan prevails the problem will disappear where her influence extends,[1] but what attitude would Russia take towards these missions.[2]

[1] "Reference has already been made to the warning that Japan stands eagerly waiting to take the leadership of the East; and that if she does so, it will be in the spirit of the East against the West. Whether or not it is the destiny of Japan to be the leader of the East remains to be unfolded. But if ever that responsibility shall be hers, of one thing the world may be sure. She will not willingly retrace her own steps; and she will at least endeavour to persuade the East to do what she has done herself, and what she is trying to do more perfectly.

"The object of the war then, on the part of Japan, is the security of the empire and the permanent peace of the East. It is carried on in the interests of justice, humanity, and the commerce and civilization of the world" (From interview with Count Katsura, Japanese Prime Minister, *Japan Mail*, May 27, 1904).

[2] "It is a little singular that Russia, among all her conquests, has never yet had to face the questions of how to deal with Protestant missionaries already established in territory that she has conquered. Russian officials have come in contact, of course, with the Scottish and Irish Presbyterian, and the Danish Lutheran missionaries in Manchuria. During the Turkish war of 1877–78, the Russians encountered American missionaries at work in Bulgaria and in Asiatic Turkey. In each case, they were, on the whole, courteous and made no attempt to interfere. In Manchuria, the Russian officers have been quite like comrades to the Protestant medical missionaries. In Asiatic Turkey, the annexation of the Turkish province of Kars to Russia carried with it the Armenian Protestants who had been taught by American missionaries. Perhaps this one case throws some light upon the course which Russian officials may follow towards Protestant missions found in any land of their conquest. Kars was an outstation of Erzroum, which remained a Turkish possession. The Protestants living at Kars were

1. The missionaries in Turkey have always feared that if Russia should come their work would have to cease. During the Armenian massacres *The Independent* (February 13, 1896) ventured to express the view that the horror of the massacres or at least the continuance of them for a little longer time might in the end be a lesser evil than the entrance of Russia:

"It may be just as well for us to explain a little more at length why we should 'almost prefer' if not quite prefer Turkish to Russian rule. We indicated it when we said that 'Russia is not only intolerant and oppressive, but she is strong.' It is true that under Russian rule to a certain extent life and property are safe. The same is true under the usual conditions in Turkey, and to an equal extent. In neither country are life and property safe to those who are of another way of thinking from what the Government prefers; but on the whole the Armenians have quite as little to complain of from the Government, under the usual circumstances, as the Jews or Stundists or Molokanis or Doukhobortsi in Russia. Villages have been broken up and the people scattered and men and women treated as badly by the Russian soldiers as by the Turkish soldiers, with this difference, that Russia sends its sectaries to Siberia or to Trans-Caucasus and gives them the knout, while once in thirty years Turkey puts down its sec-

recognized, tolerated and protected by the Russians. By and by, the missionary from Erzroum went to visit his flock at Kars. He was allowed to pass once or twice; but after the new administration was fully established the missionary was met at the frontier by a very polite official, who told him in effect that Russia can take care of her own subjects without the aid of even so amiable friends as the Americans. That ended missionary visits to Kars.

"As to Protestant missionaries who may seek to enter territory already Russian in order to work for pagans or Mohammedans, the policy of Russia is well defined. In 1795, a little band of Moravians took their lives in their hands and established a mission among the Tartars of Daghestan, near the Caspian Sea. The Church of Scotland in 1802 established a mission at Karass, between the Caspian and the Black Seas, and in 1819, the London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Selinginsk, in the region of Lake Baikal, with the hope of finding a door to China open on that side. Under the liberal reign of the Czar Alexander I, these missions to Tartars and Mongols, were highly favoured. Prince Galitzin, the Minister of Public Worship, was a pious man who took a deep interest in the experiment. Grants of land were given to the missions and they were aided in their attempts to translate the Scriptures. All of these missions were in full and successful career, with chapels, schools for both sexes and printing presses in operation, and many converts from both pagans and Mohammedans, when Alexander I died. The Czar Nicholas would have none of these things and closed the Scottish mission and the Moravian mission at once (1825). The London Society's mission, near Lake Baikal was favoured by distance perhaps. At all events, it continued without molestation until 1841. Then a rescript from the Holy Synod was handed to the missionaries which simply declared the mission suppressed because 'the mission, in relation to the form of Christianity already established in the empire, does not coincide with the views of the Church and the Government'" (*The Missionary Review of the World*, May, 1904, Article, "Religious Russia and Protestant Missions," pp. 330, 331).

taries with a massacre. We have not forgotten Kennan's pictures of Siberia, or the protest against Jewish persecutions signed only five years ago by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others.

"We 'almost prefer,' if not quite prefer Turkish rule to Russian, for the reason that the enlightening influences of education and of religion are allowed to a certain extent in Turkey, and are producing their effect; while they are forbidden in Russia, except under the strictest Government control. We think that much as we detest both, we do not detest death more than we detest slavery. We have less fear of massacre than we have of oppressive servitude. But chiefly this controls us, that, bad as the conditions are in Turkey, terrible as massacre is, we regard relief from these conditions as something that is bound to come in the near future; and when it comes it will be grand liberty. Civilization will enter that country like a flood; the influences for the best enlightenment of the world will pour into it; the surplus wealth of Europe will be invested in Turkey, and it will become once more the garden spot of the world, as it has already the world's most magnificent history behind it. There is only one thing that stands in the way and can endanger this future, and that is Russian occupation.

"There is not a civilized district in Russia; not one which possesses liberty or the free press, or free schools, or free religion. It is all under a Government which is oppressive and vicious and strong; and there is no hope for decades to come of any relief. If we believe in the principles of our own Government we disbelieve in those of Russia, for they are its direct antithesis. The principles which the United States represents have entered into the Government of Bulgaria, and they are permeating the Christian population of all Turkey. Those principles would be crushed beyond redemption by Russian occupation. And so long as we care more for liberty than we do for life; so long as we are willing to suffer worse things for a while with a view for better things to come; so long as we honour our ancestors who preferred the sufferings of war to a tax on tea, we are justified in saying that we almost or quite prefer to have the Armenian provinces suffer a while longer the horrors of Turkish massacre than to have them lose the chance of ultimate progress, prosperity and freedom."

2. Northern Persia has been so completely at Russia's mercy that its political annexation has been needless. Under Persian rule the missions have gone on with their work, with some limitation but yet with far greater practical liberty than missions in Turkey have enjoyed. The missions were established when England's influence in Persia was so predominant as to be almost exclusive, and until the establishment of the American legation in 1882–83 the American missions which were for years the only organized missions in the country were under the care of the British minister in Teheran and the British Consul in Tabriz. The decay of British influence before

Russian expansion, however, has completely changed the situation in Persia. Now Great Britain concedes northern Persia to Russia, and claims only the south.[1] "We recognize," says Major Younghusband, "that Russia must control northern Persia."[2] "Our policy," said Lord Cranborne in the House of Commons in January, 1902, "is the integrity of Persia. That unselfishness is not due to any elaborate moral motive, because it is our interest that Persia should remain in its present territorial condition. But, when I state that, I ought to add that there are limits to that policy. That policy cannot be pursued independently of the action of other Powers. We are anxious for the integrity of Persia, but we are anxious far more for the balance of power; and it would be impossible for us, whatever the cause, to abandon what we look upon as our rightful position in Persia. Especially is that true in regard to the Persian

[1] Extract from statement of Lord Lansdowne to the House of Lords, May 5, 1903:

"I do not yield to the noble Lord in the interest which I take in the Persian Gulf, or in the feeling that this country stands with regard to the navigation of the Persian Gulf in a position different from that of any other Power. The noble Lord said with absolute truth that it was owing to British enterprise, British expenditure of lives and money that the Persian Gulf is at this moment open to the navigation of the world. It was we who put down the slave trade, and it was we who buoyed and beaconed those intricate waters. At this moment out of a total trade in the gulf ports of £3,600,000 for the year 1901, £2,300,000 represent the commerce of this country, so that it is clear that up to the present, at all events, we have succeeded in preserving a liberal share of that commerce. But there is no doubt that in the gulf and in other parts of Persia we are feeling very keenly the competition of other Powers. That I am afraid is our fate, not alone in Persian waters, nor can we expect that because we have been in the development of commerce throughout the world the pioneers of that form of civilization, that we should always be able to maintain the position of superiority which we at first enjoyed.

"The noble Lord asked me for a statement of our policy with regard to the Persian Gulf. I think I can give him one in few and simple words. It seems to me that our policy should be directed in the first place to protect and promote British trade in these waters. In the next place I do not think he suggests, or that we should suggest, that those efforts should be directed towards the exclusion of the legitimate trade of other Powers—(hear, hear)—and in the third place, I say without hesitation that we should regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified fort in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, and that we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal. (Cheers.) I say that in no minatory spirit, because so far as I know, no such proposal is made for the establishment of a base in the Persian Gulf, and I cannot help thinking that the noble Lord waxed almost unnecessarily warm at the idea of such foreign intrusion with which, so far as I am aware, we are not at present threatened."

[2] Letter to the *Times*, December 5, 1901.

Gulf, as I had the honour to state to the House a few days ago. It is true not only of the Persian Gulf, but of the southern Provinces of Persia, and those provinces which border on our Indian Empire. Our rights there, and our position of ascendency, we cannot abandon." [1] The Russians, on the other hand, now dream of engulfing the whole country. As "A Russian Diplomatist" says, "The geographical position of Russia and of Persia have bound the essential interests of those two countries together for more than a century, and it appears to us impossible that Russia should yield any of her acquired advantages to any other Power. We therefore cannot see any serious possibility of England's preventing Russia from approaching towards the Persian Gulf. It is possible that this goal will not be reached to-morrow, but it certainly will be in the near future. In any event a partition of influence in Persia between Russia and England appears to be outside the range of practical politics." [2]

Thus far there has been no visible exercise of Russian influence over northern Persia, made practically complete by loans and concessions and roads, as well as by geographical proximity and overwhelming military supremacy, to the disadvantage of missions, unless the prohibition of the importation of Bibles in Persian, Turkish and Arabic should be her suggestion, the customs management having passed into Russian control though administered by Belgian agents. The Russian Church has, however, damaged the mission work carried on for seventy years by American missionaries among the Nestorians. Russian priests came into the field in 1898–99 at a time when the Nestorian people were eager for the political protection of some Christian Government, and the Nestorians in Persia, with the exception of the Protestant section of them, went over en masse. The Russian priests took possession of the churches and absorbed the native priesthood. The ceremony of consecration and absorption is interesting as revealing the missionary methods of the Church and its spirit of pure formalism. A missionary, resident in Urumia, wrote at the time:

"The first thing on reaching a village, is to reconsecrate the Nestorian Church, which is taken possession of without ado or question of legal right. After the church is consecrated, applicants are received individually, and make confession

[1] Quoted by Norman, *All the Russias*, pp. 443f.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 440f.

to the priest. Another day the 'converts' gather in the church yard, where the formal reception rite is gone through, the people through a representative and by kneeling in assent, renounce the 'errors' of Nestorianism, and accept the Russian Church, and the Communion service is held.

"The substance of the form used by the Russians in receiving Nestorians is as follows, omitting the prayers, etc.:

"Question. 'Do you cast aside the errors and false teachings of the Nestorian faith?'

"Reply. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you wish to become a member of the Orthodox Catholic faith?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you cast aside the false teachings of Nestorius and Theodorus and all of the same opinions?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you cast aside the false doctrine that teaches that in our Lord Jesus Christ there are two natures and two persons? Will you accept in the Orthodox way, two natures and one person, of the deity and humanity?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you cast aside the false teaching that teaches that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of Christ? Will you say, in the Orthodox way, that she in truth bore Christ our God, and is the Mother of God?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you wish to unite with the Orthodox Catholic Church of the East, and will you promise to obey it?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you receive the Seven Synods (*i. e.*, Ecumenical Councils) of Nicea, etc. (names given), and do you receive the rules established by these Seven Councils?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you accept pictures of the Saints of the Orthodox Church; and when you bow before them will you consider that you are not honouring the picture, but the memory of the Saint?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you receive the rules of the Apostles and the Seven Synods and the Nine Councils, all their ordinances, testaments and laws?'

"R. 'Yes.'

"Q. 'Do you promise the Holy Synod, the Orthodox Archbishop, to honour and obey them in spiritual things?'

"R. 'Yes.'"

The Russian priests have not been able to deliver the political protection they promised, or which at least the people expected. They have been men of character inferior to that of the reliable native men among the Nestorians. They have acted with high handed

arbitrariness with the Christians, and have angered the Moslems, compelling the sale of land, erecting a bell tower with chimes, a scandal to the Mohammedans, and embittering the whole community against them. It has been a singularly infelicitous illustration of the ability of the Russians to adapt themselves, to treat the people with conciliation and to assimilate them.

The Russian priests have been in the main on friendly terms with the American missionaries. There have been conferences to settle questions which arose between them, and the people they represented, and while the coming of the Greek Church has complicated the situation, contracted the field, and done damage from the point of view of the spiritual interests of the people, it has not yet warred against the evangelical movement.

The only considerable Greek Church mission outside of Russian territory is the interesting mission of Bishop Nicolai in Japan. This is Bishop Nicolai's own account of his work:

"The Bible teaches that the Lord governs all nations and peoples. Again that the Lord desires that all people be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. Why then has the Lord left the Japanese nation until now without a knowledge of the truth of Christianity, which is salvation? There is no doubt but that the Japanese up to the present have not been ready to accept Christianity. They have been content with their own religions and their minds have been occupied with them. Therefore, their hearts have been closed to the truth of God. The Lord who endowed man with freedom left the Japanese likewise to follow their own free will. But happily their own will led them not far from God's highway. Their three religions, viz., Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism have served well as tutors up to the present. However, these faiths failed to reveal the fundamental teachings of God, man, and kindred truths. As these religions were the works of men, they were powerless to give light concerning those exalted doctrines which God alone is able to reveal. But the simpler moral truths, which are innate in the souls of men, these religions fostered in the Japanese, who in turn gladly accepted and practiced them. We know this to be true from the fact that the morality of the Japanese is not inferior to that of the peoples of Europe or America. The Japanese who have not the law of God 'do by nature the things contained in the law,' as the Scripture says. On this account God loves them. The Scripture also says: 'God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him.' Wherefore the Lord in His providence has protected the Japanese nation during all the ages past.

"Now at last the time has come for the Japanese to receive the true teaching of God. Behold; the door is open for this teaching. The tutors are no

longer able to lead the people. The nation has reached a stage of development in which it is capable of acting under the guiding hand of the heavenly Father Himself. God has begun to converse with the nation. The dark night, in which the three man-made lamps gave satisfactory light, has passed away. Let it be morning to those Japanese who have awakened from their sleep! The Sun of Righteousness has appeared! The Light of the World has begun to shine brightly into the faces of the Japanese. Of course it is impossible to hope that the nation as a whole will receive the light at once. One awakening in the morning cannot appropriate at once the light of the rising sun. He is at first dazed, he rubs his eyes, and only gradually becomes accustomed to the dazzling light. So with the spiritual eye. The eyes of all the people cannot receive and appreciate the whole light at once, which has been sent from heaven to shine upon all the race. The mind and heart of the Japanese are accustomed to find satisfaction in the agreeable truths of their ancient religions which originated naturally or by man's design. It will take time for the masses to receive the full truth of that revelation whose completion engaged the ministrations of many a prophet and at last the manifestation of God Himself.

"It is a fact known world-wide that the implanting of the gospel in the hearts of the Japanese is in progress. It is also evident, as seen by the eyes of all nations, that the Kingdom of God in Japan is expanding continuously. The work also of the various mission boards is enlarging. In proof I will state certain figures which show the growth of Christianity. The figures demonstrate that throughout the land the people lend a ready ear and receive the gospel gladly. Statistics simply deal with outside facts and, therefore, should not be depended upon wholly or esteemed too highly. However, progress is always gauged somewhat by figures, hence I will submit the following statistics. In 1902 A. D. the mission of the Orthodox Church in Japan received by baptism 1,103 souls. Of this number fifty per cent. were the children of parents already Christian. The remainder were adults who heard the gospel and embraced the faith. This is indeed pleasing progress, for the work of the mission is carried on by the Japanese themselves and it certainly gives good assurance for the future. There are pessimists who assert that the Japanese have no real ability to receive Christianity or to abide as faithful believers. Why is this so? Is not the intellect of the Japanese capable of grasping the truths of God's revelation in the same measure as the intellect of any other nation? Or are not their sensibilities responsive to the beauty of holiness? Or are their wills not inclined to the goodness of God? To reply in the negative is to affirm that the Japanese nation has no kindred relation with the rest of the human race, which sprang from one parent, Adam. To affirm such would be nonsense. The Japanese as well as all other nations are the children of Adam and with all the nations they are brethren of one common Elder Brother, God's only begotten Son, who took upon Himself the form of man that He might save all men. Wherefore the Japanese are the children of God just as surely as are the inhabitants of Europe or America. Our Father in heaven who has long ago been revealed to the nations

of Europe and America is now beginning to manifest His glory to the Japanese. We can no more doubt that God will fully reveal Himself to them then we can doubt His omnipotence or His benevolence.

"According to the tables of January 1, 1903, the statistics of the Japanese Orthodox Church are as follows:

"Churches,	260
Church members,	27,504
Ordained Japanese Priests,	30
" " Deacons,	8
Evangelists,	144
Schools in Tokyo	
One training school for Evangelists, students,	16
One Theological Seminary, students,	84
One School for Girls,	80
School-teachers,	28
School in Kyoto	
One girls' school, students,	20
Teachers,	3."[1]

This success is remarkable where the mission has but one missionary and is representative of the country which Japan most hates and distrusts. A mission of the Russian Church was established in Korea in 1899 by a priest, who was followed the next year by two additional Russian missionaries. The priests opened a school in 1900.

For the most part, the Orthodox Church is content to stay within its own national and political boundaries. Even there it attempts no conversion of Mohammedans and heathen, and will probably not for years or generations seek the absorption of Turkomans or other Asiatics within its fold. It is not so much a force for the extension of the gospel as an agency for the support of the State.

3. What would the control of Manchuria by Russia involve to the flourishing work established there by the Irish and Scotch Presbyterians? Before the Boxer Uprising this was regarded as one of the most signally successful missions in the world. No one's judgment as to the effect of Russia's absorption of Manchuria on Christian missions is more valuable than that of Dr. John Ross, one of the leaders of the work from the beginning. In 1898 he wrote, after describing Russia's increase of influence in Manchuria, as but the development of a long cherished and consistently followed plan:

[1] *The Christian Movement in its Relation to the New Life in Japan*, pp. 137–140.

"There is no doubt that Russia's progress in Asia has been characterized throughout by cold, unbending religious intolerance. It is, however, an intolerance of somewhat different character from what is generally understood. It is by no means always the result of intense devotion on the part of the Russian official to his own Church, for it not infrequently acts as strenuously against the Greek Church as against any other. An illustration of this is found in Schuyler's *Turkestan*. The inhabitants of Western Turkestan were virtually without a known religion when they fell under the sway of Russia. The officers in command, believing that the people should be Mohammedans, introduced teachers of that religion to instruct the people in the proper discharge of their religious duties. It afterwards transpired that had the officers introduced the Greek or other faith the people would have accepted it with equal readiness. The dominant idea in the officials' mind was the preservation of order, and Christian missionary zeal being supposed to engender strife was forbidden. So, also, not many years ago it was reported that provision was officially made for the better chanting of Buddhism in Eastern Siberia, young men having been sent to Peking to learn. Similarly, whenever Protestant missionaries have entered Russian territory they have been regarded with the deepest suspicion because their teachings were thought to be unsettling and disturbing in their character. As it is, however, the well-established principle of Russia to recognize whatever exists, it seems probable that the uneasiness sometimes expressed as to the future possible antagonism of Russia to Christian work in Manchuria is exaggerated. Doubtless this uneasiness has a basis in the past history of Russian movements, for example, against the London Missionary Society's missions in Mongolia; but those were undertaken after Russia's occupation. If Russia finds evangelical work already established and is convinced that its purpose is distinctly non-political, it may be that her opposition will not be so bitter. In any case it behooves the British, remembering the bitter hostility of the East India Company to all missionary activity, to be lenient in their judgment of Russian influence; and a hope for the best is undoubtedly legitimate and may be well founded."

When Russia had control of Manchuria she did not actively interfere with the Protestant missions. Some of the missionaries thought that she would not do so, believing that east of the Caucasus Russia is not a persecuting nation and that in Siberia and Manchuria she would not interfere with mission work. Other missionaries held a different view pointing to the recent actions of Russia regarding the Armenians in the Caucasus, and urging that as soon as Russia should be in full possession of Manchuria, aggressive mission work would be stopped and the missions be allowed to carry on work only for their own existing constituencies. Is this latter likely to be the course which

[1] *The Independent*, October 20, 1898, Art., "Russia and Manchuria," p. 1114.

will be pursued elsewhere, if indeed so generous a course is elsewhere allowed? The darker view of the probabilities is as follows: (1) No attempt to influence members of the Orthodox Church will be anywhere endured. The dissenting Rascol priests and leaders, says Mr. Heard in the closing sentences of his book on the Russian Church, "and the rule applies to all religious denominations in Russia, whether foreign or domestic, refrain from making proselytes among members of the Orthodox communion. This is not only a sin against the Church, but is a crime against the law."[1] (2) No general evangelical mission work will be tolerated, nor any other influence deemed unfavourable to the Russian autocracy, which requires the Russian Church as one of its supports. As the *Novoye Vremya*, commenting on the Anglo-German agreement in 1900 with reference to the Yang-tse Valley, said: "It is a pity that these competitors, Germany and England, will have commercial relations with us. Their presence in the immediate vicinity of Manchuria promises serious dangers." The paper asserted that Russians alone possess the capacity for living peaceably with Asiatics, and declared that therefore peace can only exist in Manchuria when Russians alone deal with the Chinese. For this reason, Russia cannot admit north of the Pei-ho any influence but her own. Russia, it added, does not wish new acquisitions or to attempt anything against the territorial integrity of China. Continuing, the paper said: "By all means open the doors to the whole of South China. Exploit it and preach the Gospel with the aid of the sword. That is your affair, but we cannot open the doors of North China."[2] (3) Not improbably existing missions working for distinct classes such as the Gregorians or Nestorians will be tolerated so long as no disturbance or opposition arises, although probably they will be compelled to make the work pastoral and educational for existing Christian communities, and be forbidden all effort to extend their bounds. As for Mohammedans and heathen, it is not likely that Russia will allow any effort at their evangelization.

Some have been disposed to point to the Czar's proclamation of religious toleration of 1903, as evidence of the dawn of a better day. But there have been many instances in Russian history of far more liberal announcements from the Government, and that that proclama-

[1] *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, p. 297.
[2] Reported in *The New York Sun*, October 23, 1900.

tion did not in the least relax the old restrictions as to the integrity of the Orthodox Church or the crime of apostasy from it was revealed in the new code published shortly afterwards. Indeed "the 'new code' differs from the old so little that one can hardly say whether it relaxes or increases the grip of the Orthodox Greek Church upon the subjects of the Czar. 'Three years in a fortress' is the light penalty imposed upon any man 'who uses his public position to influence or induce any member of the Orthodox Church to join the ranks of another religious communion.' Any parent having his child baptized by other than the Greek rite may be imprisoned for one year. The same penalty is incurred by any preacher or colporteur who converts any member of the Russian Church to Protestantism; and any convert who announces publicly his renunciation of the Orthodox Church and his admission to any other communion must pay 300 roubles for his temerity, beside submitting to the penalty laid upon him as a schismatic. This is the Czar's definition of 'religious liberty.' Since the promulgation of his famous edict of toleration, the Czar has sent scores of Lutheran pastors to Siberia for dealing spiritually with persons over whom the parish priests claimed authority."[1] Possibly a Gregorian will be allowed to become a Nestorian or a Shiah a Sunnee, but the proclamation means little more. Whether it means that foreign missionaries may work freely among the people of Russia to produce what changes they can outside of the Orthodox Church, remains to be seen. It is impossible to believe that at present anything of the sort will be allowed.

The recent proceedings of Russia in her dealing with the Armenians in the Caucasus are not reassuring as to the tolerant spirit of Russia towards other Christian bodies than the Greek Church, and they contrast strangely with the utterances of the Czar in his proclamation on religious toleration. Some years ago the Russian Government took over the administration of all properties and endowments belonging to the Armenian schools, and last year by a further ukase the Government takes charge of all church property, villages, monasteries and endowments, whether at Etchmiadzin or elsewhere in Russia, to be "administered for the benefit" of the Armenian Church. "We were very much surprised," says a recent traveller through the Caucasus, "to learn of the very severe methods Russia

[1] *The Interior*, July 23, 1903.

is using to compel the Armenians to hand over their Church property to the care of the Government. Wherever the Armenians have resisted they have been shot down. In one place seventy were killed, in another ten right in a church. In one village I was told six had been killed and twenty wounded. The total number as I hear reported, must have run up to nearly two hundred." "The Friends of Armenia," an Association of which Mrs. Julia Ward Howe is President, recently set forth the facts as they were believed by that Association to be, in a circular entitled "Religious Persecution in Russia":

"It is the well known policy of the Government to put pressure upon all its non-orthodox subjects, to make them conform to the Russian State Church. Whether Jews, Doukhobors, German Lutherans, or Polish Catholics, those who will not conform must suffer. Just now the screws are being put upon the Armenians. In the Caucasus, where the population is largely Armenian, the Government is sending in colonies of Orthodox Russians and settling them there to crowd out the original peasantry. Those who will turn orthodox, however, are not deprived of their land, but are given additional grants of Government land and other favours.

"Last year about twenty-five Armenian peasants in the village of Karakilissa made up their minds to join the State Church, and sent a petition to the Russian synod asking to be baptized. A few days later they repented of this act of hypocrisy, and wrote to the synod that they had decided to remain in their own communion. They supposed this would end the matter; but some time later they received notice from the Governor of Alexandropol to be ready for baptism on a certain day. The peasants told the Governor that they had changed their minds and had already notified the synod to that effect. The Governor answered, 'We have orders from St. Petersburg to baptize you. Those who go back on their word will be exiled to Siberia.'

"The next Sunday the Governor came to the village with a regiment of Cossacks, accompanied by the Russian archpriest Vassilov with Bible and crozier, and many officers and Russian ladies carrying bouquets, to attend the ceremony; but the peasants refused to be baptized. The Governor first tried to persuade them; then, failing in this, he ordered the Cossacks to use their whips. The unwilling converts were flogged to the place of baptism like unruly cattle, and the Cossacks mounted guard over them with their whips to keep them from running away, while the archpriest Vassilov read from the Bible and sprinkled them with holy water. The wives of the unfortunate men, with their children, left the village, declaring that they could not live with husbands who let themselves be converted by force. This is merely one little incident in Vassilov's career.

"As items in the forcible Russianization of the Caucasus, the Government has suppressed all the Armenian benevolent and philanthropic societies, has subjected their newspapers to rigid censorship, and closed many of their public

libraries, including that of the Armenian philanthropic society at Baku, the largest library in the Caucasus, which was used by all nationalities and had been of great benefit to the city. The Government during the last few years has also systematically discouraged their commercial and manufacturing enterprises, laying special restrictions upon them, and offering great advantages to their competitors. Armenians are now almost wholly excluded from Government offices, in districts where the bulk of the population is Armenian.

"During the past few weeks the confiscation of the Church property has called out great popular demonstrations in Alexandropol, Tiflis, Erivan, Baku, Shusha and Elizavetpol, accompanied in several cases with bloodshed. In Alexandropol all places of business were closed and the city was hung with black. In Erivan several thousand people, taking with them the Archbishop, and overcoming the resistance of the military and police, marched in procession to Etchmiadzin, where the head of the Armenian Church has his see in an ancient monastery at the foot of Mount Ararat, and urged him not to give up the property of the Church. He and his clergy held a council and decided not to surrender it voluntarily.

"Chrimian, the present head of the Armenian Church, is an aged prelate, respected throughout Europe for his virtues, and greatly beloved by his own Church. He has begged the Czar to grant him a personal interview to remonstrate, but there is no prospect that he will be successful. . . . The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople and his clergy have entered a protest on the same ground—that the Church property belongs to the members of the Armenian Church everywhere.

"In 1836 the Russian Government granted the Armenian Church a constitution, the eighth and ninth chapters of which guarantee the Church the right to administer its own revenues and conduct its own schools; but these promises have proved of as little value as the guarantees of constitutional liberty for Finland."[1]

The *Novoye Vremya*, the organ of the assassinated Plehve, Pobedonostseff and the hard Russian conservatives assures the Armenians that "resistance is futile. The Armenians may organize dozens of demonstrations but the decree will be enforced."

It will be seen, accordingly, that the relations of Russian expansion to Christian missions from the Protestant Churches are unfavourable, or at the best, problematical. And yet it is impossible to believe that the spread of Russian influence is not for good. Unquestionably Russia has brought great blessings to the Caucasus, to Central Asia, to Siberia, to Mongolia. They are not the greatest blessings, but we must believe that changes will come both in the

[1] Reported in *The New York Sun*, October 9, 1903.

Russian State and in the Orthodox Church, which will bring these two great institutions into line with the divine purpose of progress and liberty and life, which has unfolded through the centuries, and which assuredly is not now to be checked and suppressed in the immense and increasing territories ruled by the Russian Czar.

The Kishinev massacre of Jews, to cite a small but sad affair, or the Russianization of Finland, to cite a great and yet sadder one, the ignorance and superstition and immorality of the people, and the venality and atheism of the ruling class, the unyielding bureaucracy of the Government, and the immorality and stagnancy of the Church are urged by many as evidence of the hopelessness of the situation. The spread of Russia, they say, is the permanent obstruction of civilization. The Czar, they almost feel, as some of the Russian sects unhesitatingly declare, is Antichrist.[1]

As to Finland, the Emperor had solemnly promised to confirm and support the religion, the fundamental laws, the rights and privileges of each class and of all the people, and to respect and maintain their Constitution. In 1899, however, by simple manifesto the Czar deliberately wiped out his solemn pledge and began the destruction of what was distinctive in Finland, and its "assimilation" into Russia. Russia defended its course by an appeal to destiny and the great interests of the race. Russia must be one. Whatever stands in the way of unity must be wiped out,—treaty obligations, vows, imperial promises. When the ultimate result has been reached it will be time enough to stop and argue about the morality of the means used by the way.[2] The extinction of Finnish nationality has been iniquity, but it has been "destiny," present suffering to the end of future good and the mission of the race!

The Russian people are grossly ignorant. In 1899 out of a total population of 129,004,514, only 4,193,594 children were in elementary schools, and about 315,000 in higher institutions. In

[1] No good is accomplished by utterances like Kipling's poem "The Truce of the Bear." The theory of a radical conflict between Russia and Western civilization is set forth in Foulke, *Slav or Saxon*. "By every lover of freedom the Russian autocracy must be regarded as the common enemy of mankind," says Mr. Foulke (p. 139). Skrine in *The Expansion of Russia* represents the modern reaction of English opinion towards a sympathetic view.

[2] *The Contemporary Review*, May, 1899, Art., "Finland and the Czar"; July, 1900, Art., "Finland and Russia"; Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia*, pp. 20f, 215–218, 291, 322, 328.

America, out of a population of 76,085,794 in 1900 there were 14,822,126 children in elementary schools, and 602,469 in higher institutions. And Pobedonostseff condemns popular education.[1] And Government and Church are both absolutist and autocratic. But they cannot continue so. The schisms which have been described run through the nation, and the Church will be unable to retain its mediæval supremacy when intelligence and independence of opinion spread among the people. The mere expansion of industry, the introduction of manufactures, the development of the resources of the country, will bring in the spirit of personal freedom, of independent individual action. The eight years from 1892 to 1900 reveal how fast these new influences are increasing their power.

	Output in tons, 1892	Output in tons, 1900
Coal,	6,800,000	15,800,000
Cast iron,	1,050,000	2,850,000
Wrought iron and steel,	984,000	2,000,000
Cotton goods,	140,000	232,000
	8,974,000	20,882,000[2]

Men cannot be kept from thinking, and however strong an argument for autocracy can be made in theory, it will not be possible to hold men permanently in such subjection. Both Church and State are bound to be liberalized once the outlines of the Russian framework are clearly defined and the work of inner development succeeds the era of territorial expansion. The latter will allow fictions which the former will shatter. "Among the impressions left by study of contemporary Russia," says Mr. Norman, "perhaps the most interesting is that of an approaching social change. Hitherto, speaking generally, there was no artisan class—no great social stratum below the nobility except the illiterate, stupid, kindly, superstitious peasantry. The growth of industry is producing such a class—a proletariat. Association in large numbers, the discussion of affairs, the influence of the fluent speaker, the circulation of the newspaper, the use of machinery, residence in towns—all these combine to confer a certain education. With this rough education come new aspirations and the consciousness of ability to realize them. When a dozen men insist upon

[1] *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, pp. 75–84.
[2] Norman, *All the Russias*, p. 370.

something hitherto denied them, a policeman may move them on; a hundred men may be dispersed by a troop of *gendarmes*; five hundred men may be surrounded by a regiment of Cossacks. But when two or three thousand men demand a change, for instance, in hours of labour, and not in one town only but in half a dozen towns simultaneously, their demand must be considered on its merits. This means a new class and a new era in Russia—a vital modification of a society hitherto resting upon the two pillars of autocracy and theocracy."[1]

And apart from the matter of industry, Russia cannot remain aloof from the influences of the great thoughts which are here to mould the whole world. Undoubtedly Russia is to contribute her share to the determination of the form in which these great thoughts are to find permanent lodgment in human society. Western individualism may well be checked by Russian socialism, our sense of liberty by her sense of authority, our mobility by her stability. But the future of the world belongs to no one race,—neither Anglo-Saxon, Slav, nor Mongol. And that race does unwisely, whether it be ours or the Russian or the Chinese, which claims a supreme and isolated authority, and denies so far that human brotherhood, the recognition and service of which is the only valid title to greatness, whether of nations or of men.

[1] *All the Russias*, pp. 452f; *The Independent*, Art., "The Russian Situation from the Inside," June 20, 1901, pp. 1412ff.

Missions and the World-Movement

XIII

MISSIONS AND THE WORLD-MOVEMENT

OF the twelve great movements which have been considered, all but two have been related to Asia. We are often told that Asia is the immovable continent, that she is what she has been and that she will remain what she is, that "some strange fiat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion has condemned the brown men and the yellow men to eternal reproduction of old ideas," [1] that there notion and institution have hardened into permanency and that the continent must be regarded as alien to great moral or intellectual movements and separate from the stirrings of life that work ceaseless change in the West. How is it possible to reconcile such a view with the facts which have passed before us? These Asiatic nations are alive. The stock is not exhausted. "The theory that China's decadence is due to the fact that she has long since reached maturity and has outlived the natural term of national existence does not hold good. The mass of the people have not degenerated; they are as fresh and vigorous as ever they were." [2] And the Japanese protest that they are among the most youthful and vital of all races.[3] Neither is the stock exhausted nor do the peoples lack enthusiasm or the capacity for common movement. The Tai-ping Rebellion, the Tong Hak Insurrection, the Sepoy Mutiny are evidences of this, and even the Mohammedan revival among the Turks and the nationalist aspirations of the Armenians. While the Babi movement, the Reform movement in Hinduism, the struggle towards enlightened free institutions in Latin America, the new life in Japan, the racial aspirations of the Slav, and American "imperialism" are not mere spo-

[1] Townsend, *Asia and Europe*, p. 9.

[2] Michie, *Overland Siberian Route*, quoted by Colquhoun, *China in Transformation*, pp. 357f.

[3] Art., "The Nature of Japanese Civilization," *The Far East*, Vol. I, No. 9, October 20, 1896, pp. 7–13.

radic uprisings, but great enduring influences. In whatever direction we look, we see that the nations live and that life displays itself in movement, in readjustment, in upheaval. The simple fact is that even barring any aggressive activity on the part of the civilized nations, the rest of the world feels their influence, is moved by the power of it and will never be able again to settle down contentedly in the rags of its old life,—the shabby grave clothes, if any one desires to call them so, of its old death.

A study of these great movements and their consequences answers the question, whether the Asiatic peoples can be permanently influenced by the West. Mr. Meredith Townsend thinks they cannot. If the British departed from India, he thinks, or "were driven out, they would leave behind them as the Romans did in Britain, splendid roads, many useful buildings, and increased weakness in the subject people and a memory, which in a century of new events would be extinct."[1] Mr. Townsend is even more despondent than this. If the British leave India, he holds, "the railways, the only things we have built, will be torn up, the universities will be scouted by military rulers, the population will begin to decline, and in short, for one word expresses it all, India once more will be Asiatic. Within five years of our departure, we shall recognize fully that the greatest experiment ever made by Europe in Asia was but an experiment after all; that the ineffaceable distinctions of race were all against it from the first; and that the idea of the European tranquilly guiding, controlling and perfecting the Asiatic until the worse qualities of his organization had gone out of him, though the noblest dream ever dreamed by man, was but a dream after all."[2] Mr. Townsend will not even allow Japan to be cited as disproving his view that the West cannot exert any abiding influence on the East, contending that the change in those islands was entirely self-generated, that the people have not in the least ceased to be Asiatic and that the change no more represents European influence than the purchase of Chinese tea by England proves Chinese influence upon Great Britain.[3]

In reply to Mr. Townsend's view, several things may be said. (1) It is easy to exaggerate the commonplace truth that "East is

[1] *Asia and Europe*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 27f.

East and West is West" and that between the two, a great gulf is fixed. It may be contended that there are as great differences between Orientals as between some Orientals and some Occidentals, that the unity of the race is more pronounced and powerful than the division between Asiatic and Westerner and that men will lay less stress on the mysterious unapproachability of the Oriental who meditate on the mystery of all personality and the uncertain reliability of their understanding of their own neighbours.

(2) There is no spontaneous self-generation in politics any more than in nature. The new life in Japan was a new life from without and the fact that Japan accepted it does not prove Mr. Townsend's thesis that the West cannot produce permanent effects on Eastern character. The changes that we most desire in Asia are changes which may be called self-generated in Mr. Townsend's sense, the willing, spontaneous adoption and adaptation by Asiatic people of the civilization of the West.

(3) The facts of a century's history condemn his view. The history of Asia will be different for all ages because of the movements we have discussed and each of these bore a distinct relationship to Western influence. India, moreover, would not revert to barbarism, or to what Mr. Townsend describes as the Asiatic life, if British coercion were withdrawn. No such coercion operates upon Siam and she has worked her way a notable distance towards the incorporation of the forms, at least, of Western principles in her institutions. In the contention that Europe cannot permanently hold Asia, or such parts of it as she may appropriate, as a political possession, it is not necessary that we should take any interest. The important question is, "Can these people be influenced to adopt the better civilization for themselves?" That is preferable to their absorption by Western Powers, some of which are but poor representatives of the higher civilization. And surely no one who has traced these great movings among the Asiatic and the American peoples can doubt that they are alike capable of change and susceptible to the touch of life.

(4) "The whole history of civilization protests," says M. Leroy Beaulieu, "against its ever having been at any time monopolized by the Aryan branch of the white race. . . . It seems impossible with the present facts to sustain a priori that one race cannot assimi-

late the civilization of another." [1] Theories of racial character, which have been prevalent may seem to support Mr. Townsend's view but as a thoughtful writer in Japan has remarked, "It has been our conviction for many years that when the history of the influence of foreign intercourse can be candidly and seriously studied, it will compel a reconstruction of our theories of ethnic psychology. The power of a new thought, a new moral impulse, to radically change the social environment, will have to be given a freer recognition than most modern psychologists have been wont to give it." [2]

I think it may be asserted, accordingly, that the East is capable of receiving enduring influence from the West, and that it is doing so and would continue to do so, even though Western political coercion ceased to be aggressive. After all, there is no power like the power of great thoughts. The influence of coercion in the end becomes merely the influence of the great thoughts for which coercion obtains more or less freedom of operation. And these thoughts have gone out over the world and are at work in the East. Asiatic life cannot be again the placid, picturesque acceptance of lawlessness or of the lawless legality described by Mr. Townsend. New ideas are working in men's minds and old ideas which men have always cherished or dreamed have assumed an aspect of practicability through intercourse with the West, which has led to great upheavals like some of these we have considered, and will lead, we may be sure, to more, even if the aggressive outgoing of the West should cease.

But the outgoing of the West cannot cease. The missionary movement might be stopped absolutely and yet the great projection of the West upon the East would continue. It is inevitable. The spirit of life in the West, the new imperialism, the demands of commerce, the tides of emigration or of colonization, the irresistible interplay of the world forces, the sure will of God, we may believe, will bring West and East into ever closer relations and shake in all the Orient the things that have been established. Subtracting the missionary movement would not eliminate the force that is working for the change of Asia. The West would continue to go out into the East and the South and to affect the whole world. The diverse civilizations are already in contact, and cannot be separated. To with-

[1] *The Awakening of the East*, pp, 171–173.
[2] *Mission News*, Yokohama, Vol. IV, No. 4, January 26, 1901, p. 57.

draw Christian missions is not to escape the conflict but simply to weaken the force of the civilization of the West and to provide the great struggle with an atmosphere of secularism and selfishness, untouched by the pity of Christianity, in which it is impossible that the right issue should be reached.[1]

We may lament the extension of Western influence over Asia by some of the political means that Western nations stoop to use. We naturally abhor the spirit of such dealings as those of the West with China, where as Mr. Kidd says "the competitive exploitation of Chinese resources proceeds in an environment of international intrigue, of social squalor, and of moral outrage and degradation, almost without equal in history."[2] We cannot regard the course of France in Siam without contempt.[3] And yet all this only emphasizes indisputably the fact that the Western movement upon the East is certain and inevitable; whether by evil or by good; whether for evil or for good. And we may believe that the balance is unquestionably on the side of good. "The Christian view of politics," writes a thoughtful missionary, "emphasizes the burden of Government and the responsibility of dominion, and thereby transforms empire from an ambition to an opportunity. Blindly and unworthily, yet, under God, surely and steadily, the Christian nations are subduing the world, in order to make mankind free."[4]

In pressing out over the world, the Western nations are discharging a great duty.[5] Much that they have done has been unjustifiable in

[1] Reinsch, *World Politics*, Part III, Ch. III.

[2] *Western Civilization*, p. 460.

[3] Gundry, *China and Her Neighbours*, Chs. I–VII; Brown, *Report on Siam and Laos Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 11–15.

[4] Article by the Rev. W. A. Shedd, "Missionary Policy and Political Principles," *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, January, 1901, p. 47.

[5] At the Harvard Law School Alumni dinner, in 1904, Mr. Richard Olney "declared that the old order is changing swiftly and vitally, that lawyers and statesmen of seventy-five years ago would have been as startled by current American theories as scientists of that day would have been by modern scientific discoveries; and that, whether the old order is overturning the new or not, it is revolutionary. As an illustration of this change, he cited the work accomplished by Judge Taft:

"'Having absolute mastery over the lives and fortunes of 7,500,000 of people, he has won general admiration and applause by the justice and skillfulness of his rule and by the tact, patience, and humanity of his dealings with an alien and subject race. Yet upon the American lawyer, steeped in the doctrine and traditions of the past, the inquiry at once forces itself, What place has despotism—even the most benevolent and most intelligent—in our American political system, and where, by searching, shall we find it out?'

its nature and some of it, even when viewed in regard to its result. But when the world is unutilized by its owners and is needed for the good of all, however some may object, the civilized nations but obey a law which controls them and ought to control them when they attempt to introduce improvement and render inutility useful. In the case of the tropics, for example, "there is no longer room for the old belief . . . that the tropics may or even must be left to take

"Referring to Judge Taft's advocacy of the present Philippine policy, on the ground that it was for the benefit of the Filipino people, and, even if it involved some American sacrifice, we can afford it, he replied as follows:

"'But out of any such proposition at once issues another legal puzzle for the modern American lawyer to find in the National Constitution the principle of altruism; to find in a frame of government declared on its face by the people adopting it to be designed to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" any authority for purely philanthropic enterprises—any right in that government to turn itself into a missionary to the benighted tribes of islands in the South Seas, seven thousand miles from our shores; or any power to tax the toiling masses of this country for the benefit of motley groups of the brown people of the tropics, between whom and the taxpayers there is absolutely no community either of interest or of sympathy.'

"In one of his lectures George William Curtis drew a contrast between the statesmanship of the era of Daniel Webster and that of the era of Charles Sumner, William H. Seward, and Abraham Lincoln. Daniel Webster asked only, What is Constitutional? Sumner, Seward, and Lincoln asked, What is right? The claim of Mr. Seward that there was a 'higher law' than the Constitution was greeted first with derision, then with invective. This contrast seems to us to reappear in these two addresses of Judge Taft and Mr. Olney. In his address Judge Taft does not, we think, once refer either to the Constitution of the United States or to the precedents set by the fathers. Mr. Olney appears to recognize no other standard than those precedents and that Constitution. He submits the question of our Filipino policy to the American lawyer 'steeped in the doctrines and traditions of the past.' He declares that the new school of thought finds no support in 'any writings or utterances of the great American jurists of two generations ago,' and he implies, if he does not assert, that we cannot as a nation exercise benevolence to a poor, ignorant, and suffering people, because we cannot 'find in the National Constitution the principle of altruism.' Thus, these two speeches represent two spirits even more than two principles of action: the one asks, What is ethical, just, and right for a great nation to do? and assumes that America is a nation, and that the Constitution gives it power to do what is just and right, unless that power is expressly and in terms denied. The other asks, What do the written Constitution of the United States and the doctrines and traditions of the past call upon us to do? and denies that we may do anything unless we are called upon to do it by those traditions and that Constitution. Mr. Olney is right in implying that this standard belongs to the old order, and in declaring that the new order recognizes a different standard as a measure of national action. The more clearly this difference between the old order and the new is put before the American people, the more certain it is that they will answer in no uncertain sound:

"'Ring in the love of truth and right
Ring in the common love of good.'"

—*The Outlook*, July, 1904.

care of themselves. . . . We have to recognize . . . the utter futility of any policy based on the conception that it will be possible in the future to hold our hands and stand aloof from the tropics. There can be no choice in the matter. . . . If we have to meet the fact that by force of circumstances the tropics must be developed, and if the evidence is equally emphatic that such a development can only take place under the influence of the white man, we are confronted with a larger issue than any mere question of commercial policy or of national selfishness. The tropics in such circumstances can only be governed as a trust for civilization and with a full sense of what such a trust involves." [1]

Again, the civilized nations are beginning to perceive that they do have a duty, which is often contemptuously spoken of, to police the world. The recognition of this duty has been forced by trade. "Governments in many parts of the world are too unstable, too corrupt, to admit of safe investments being made under them. Civil courts in these backward lands are often ruled by favouritism or bribery, so that the property of a foreigner is not secure. From this naturally arises the demand that stable, responsible courts be established, so as to make possible the development of resources, even against the will of the inhabitants, when they stubbornly oppose all industrial progress." [2] But this duty rests on more secure, moral foundations. The principles of international law recognize the rights of interference in the affairs of other States on grounds of religion and humanity. The United States interfered on the latter ground in Cuba. Great Britain, France and Russia interfered on both grounds in behalf of the Greeks in 1827 and "in the age which succeeded the Reformation, both self-preservation and religious sympathies induced the Protestant States to aid one another against the superior might of the Catholic and to aid the votaries of their faith within Catholic countries in order to secure for them freedom of worship." [3] The civilized nations have a right to go back of the mere forms of procedure in non-civilized lands and to secure the rights denied in those lands. Indeed, it is their duty to do so and in the interest of trade they are constantly doing so. To imply that they have not the right and duty

[1] Kidd, *The Control of the Tropics*, pp. 3, 46, 53.
[2] Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 42.
[3] Woolsey, *International Law*, p. 60.

is to misconceive the fiduciary character of civilization. The New York *Times* makes this mistake, when it says that within his dominions, the Sultan "has the right to enforce laws and take measures for the protection of his person and his Government," and that nothing more may be demanded by the United States in the case of its citizens on trial in Turkey, than that the trial be fair and the offense be proved.[1] Now missions ask no more than this, but civilization asks far more. Are the laws just? Civilization has a right to ask this question of the uncivilized nations.

Even more, civilization has a right and duty to work towards the recognition by the uncivilized nations of certain great principles for which the West is charged to secure universal recognition. "The world is slow to recognize the fact that the consciences of all men are free. No authority has been given to any human power of Church or State to rule the moral nature. God has created it free. Its freedom is essential to its moral accountability. When therefore a civil power undertakes to prohibit by force all contact of Christian truth with the conscience of its subjects, it is assuming an attitude which is an offense to the highest moral rights of the race and usurping a function which does not rightly belong to human Governments."[2] The position of Mr. Everett was doubtless sound enough as a statement of specific principle and expediency when he wrote to Mr. Marsh that the Government of the United States could not "reverse the decision of regular tribunals when missionaries are condemned for teaching doctrines not tolerated by the secular power, in cases when there is no treaty guarantee for their toleration."[3] But the civilized nations have just the same right and duty to secure the official recognition of the principle of universal religious toleration that they had to stop the African slave trade. And President Grant and Secretary Seward took this view of the duty of America when they protested against the proclamation of the Mikado reviving the ancient prohibitive decrees against Christianity in Japan. On receipt of the proclamation Mr. Seward wrote that the President "regards the proclamation as not merely ill-judged but as injurious and offensive to the United States and to

[1] Editorial, "Missions and Revolutions," May 6, 1902.

[2] *The Missionary Review*, Article, "The American Missionary in the Orient," November, 1889, p. 809.

[3] *Missions at Home and Abroad*, p. 465.

all other Christian states, and as directly conflicting with the Eighth Article of the Treaty of 1858, and no less in conflict with the tolerating principles and spirit which prevail throughout the world. You are advised, therefore, that the United States cannot acquiesce in or submit to the Mikado's proclamation."[1] And Mr. Foster conceives that we have some such real religious mission as a nation. He closes his volume on the honourable record of American Diplomacy in the East with the remark that the nation's "task will be well done if it shall aid in giving to the world a freer market and to the inhabitants of the Orient the blessings of Christian civilization."[2]

The only justification of the Western movement is moral. As commercial or political, it cannot bear the judgment of history. The only grounds on which it can defend its extension over unwilling people is the ground of its moral superiority, and its purpose to uplift the people over whom it acquires influence into a higher life and, after all, to larger freedom. There is doubtless much room for cant and hypocrisy here, but on any other ground our presence in Asia and Africa is unwarranted. What Lord Lawrence said of British rule in India defines the only warrant of Western influence anywhere: "We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India."[3] The inevitable projection of the West on Asia is defensible only on this ground.

Many would concede this who yet maintain that the Western movement should be in Asia as a high moral movement alone, that it should not interfere with the religions of the East, and that therefore the missionary enterprise should be eliminated as intrusive. Such proposals are futile and they betray an utter ignorance of the real character of the conflict between the two civilizations represented in this movement. The influence of the West on Asia is of necessity religious. In the East, all life is religious—politics, trade, social custom, all human intercourse. No influence touches it without religious results. Probably there has never been even a purely political attempt made at Eastern power which the Eastern people did

[1] Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 200.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[3] *Memoir of Sir H. Edwardes*, Vol. II, p. 313.

not view in its religious aspects. When Napoleon was believed to have designs upon India, "the British representative at Constantinople had influenced the Sultan, Selim III, as Khalif of the Moslem world, to write to Tipu warning him that the French were bent on 'effacing the religion of the Prophet from the face of the earth.' This letter was forwarded by the Governor-General of India to Tipu on January 16, 1799. The Sultan of Mysore replied in a letter to Selim on February 10th, that 'in forty years the English had successfully subverted the Mohammedan powers in the Carnatic, Bengal and Oude' . . . and concluded by asking 'What respect could a nation (England) have for the religion of the Koran who everywhere had butcher shops open for the sale of pork?'"[1] Our trade is distinctly religious or anti-religious in its effects. When the trolleys first came to Bangkok, the Siamese were seen kneeling in the streets praying to these new and powerful gods and the first trolleys in Seoul, coinciding with a long drought, aroused intense religious opposition. "As travellers in the East well know," says Mr. Norman, "Oriental people are especially susceptible upon two points, of which their religion is the chief."[2] And nothing touches them that does not touch their religion. Our commercial invasion, which we complacently regard as free from all religious bearings, does not appear so to a single Oriental or African people. The Eastern Question is of necessity a religious question, because it is eastern and there never was supremer folly than that of the people who sneer at missions as a force exterior to the real movement of the world and missionaries as men and women of no influence in actual life. These movements which we have considered show how vitally religion and politics are related in the East and I point out now that they would continue to be vitally related even if missions were discontinued. The Western movement is a religious movement. It deals directly, unavoidably and powerfully with the Eastern religions.

The contention accordingly that missions are a disturbing and revolutionary force which it would be wise to remove so that our relations with the East should not be hampered and embarrassed with the religious animosities aroused by our religious propaganda is a

[1] Dennis, *Eastern Problems at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 206; See also *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 196.

[2] *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, p. 304.

mistaken contention.[1] What the real influence of missions is we shall see in a moment. I would point out now simply that the whole Western movement upon Asia is revolutionary and subversive, a constant "source of political unrest and frequently of international trouble." In comparison with territorial seizures which shake national pride to its foundations, and trade development which destroys the institutions and vested interests of centuries, and wars which lay waste great areas and arouse the deepest passions of mankind, it is puerile to talk of the revolutionary influence of missions and the bitter wrath of the Eastern peoples at the Christian propaganda. There is no comparison between missions as a disturbing force, arousing resentment and preventing confidence, and the infamy of the liquor and opium traffic.[2]

And the tremendous subversive power of our Western movement is directed against the non-Christian religions. Once again let it be said, even if missions were eliminated, the projection of the Western view over Asia would continue and it would work with fatal results upon the Asiatic religions. Those religions are doomed. They cannot endure the contact of civilization. And as its ideas come more and more to prevail in Asia, the old faiths will proportionately lose their power. They will linger for centuries, doubtless; this is not a matter of a few years. But the sanctions of the non-Christian religions are inadequate to support the principles on which civilization rests, and the world intercourse will "in some sort convince the non-Christian people of the insufficiency and nothingness of their religion and lead individuals to seek after something higher or—which is more frequent—straightway into Nihilism." [3]

If therefore, the East is sure to be influenced by the West irrespective of Western coercion, and if, beside, the West is bound to continue to project itself aggressively upon the East, and if this projection is to be, as it cannot avoid being, religious in the view of the East, why should we not make it as sincerely and helpfully so as pos-

[1] Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*, pp. 418f; Beaulieu, *The Awakening of the East*, p. 230; Ransome, *Japan in Transition*, p. 232.

[2] Crafts and Leitch, *Protection of Native Races Against Intoxicants and Opium.*

[3] Plath, *Three New Mission Questions*, pp. 73ff., quoted in Warneck, *Missions and Culture*, p. 369; See Mrs. Bishop in *The Christian Express*, March 1, 1901, p. 39; Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, p. 76.

sible? The idea of a neutral and uninfluential religious attitude is impossible. The Oriental cannot take in that conception, and no such position can be created. And why should we want to be neutral and colourless? If Christianity is at the bottom of our civilization, why should we not be willing to acknowledge it openly? Let us recall again the view maintained by John Lawrence: "In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience and not by theirs. Believing that the study of the Bible is fraught with highest blessings, we of course desire to communicate those blessings to them if we can. We desire this, not only as individuals, but as a Government; for Christianity does truly go hand in hand with those subjects for which British rule exists in India. But this can only be effected by moral influences, voluntarily received. Anything like 'proselytism' or 'quiet persecution' of any kind, or the application of secular motives, direct or indirect, are in the first place, absolutely forbidden by the very religion we profess, and in the second place, would be worse than useless for the object in view."[1] Western civilization with whatever shortcomings is Christian civilization and it should not conceal its religious character in advancing upon the East.

But what is chiefly to be pressed here is that in this Western movement, missions have a legitimate and necessary place. What has been said suggests it, but more needs to be added. The movement needs missions because it operates on peoples, and these Eastern peoples must not be left without a religion. No State can exist deprived of it and no secular movement, involving the immense changes which this movement involves dare ignore it. For as Woolsey points out, at least three things regarding religion must be kept in view by every State, "that a corrupt morality dissolves all the bonds of the social fabric, that a moral education of the young is the strictly essential condition of the stable and progressive society and that religion by its elevated truths and motives takes the leading part in forming the character of a law-abiding useful citizen and with this in view, ought to be one of the prime factors in education."[2]

The movement needs missions because if these Eastern peoples are not given the whole truth, they will run, as the incidents we have dis-

[1] *Memoir of Sir H. Edwardes*, Vol. II, p. 313; See Smith, *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, pp. 87f.; *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, July, 1901, pp. 500–511.
[2] *Political Science*, Vol. I, p. 225.

cussed indicate, into all sorts of falsehoods and distortions. The mixture of truth and error in these great stirrings of life and the hunger of men for divine guidance, so that they will even advance and accept claims like those of the Bab and Beha, of Hung Siu-tsuen and Choi Chei Ou to divine intercourse or divine character, show the East's need of historic Christianity, of contact with the historic revelation.

And the Western movement needs the Christian mission for its own sake. It is naturally a repellent movement, operating often on unwilling people. Mr. Townsend even declares that "there is no corner of Asia where the life of a white man, if unprotected by force, either actual or potential is safe for an hour; nor is there an Asiatic state which, if it were prudent, would not expel him at once and forever." [1] This assuredly is not true. Yet there is hostility enough and there would be far more, if it were not for the conciliating influence of missions.[2] All writers on India are agreed as to the personal dislike of the people for the ruling British class, but those who know the country best, declare that one class of foreigners as individuals at least, are exempt from the dislike and seem to mollify it. "I believe," said Lord Lawrence, "notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit that country (India) the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined. They have had arduous and up-hill work, receiving no encouragement, and sometimes a great deal of discouragement from their own countrymen and have had to bear the taunts and obloquy of those who despised and disliked their preaching; but such has been the effect of their earnest zeal, untiring devotion and of the excellent example which they have, I may say, universally shown to the people, that I have no doubt whatever, that in spite of the great masses of the people being intensely opposed to their doctrine, they are, as a body, remarkably popular in the country. . . . I have a great reverence and regard for them." And Sir Richard Temple, formerly Governor of Bombay, said, "Such is their (the missionaries') conduct. And what is its result? It conduces to our national fame, and adds stability to the British rule in India. The natives are too apt to think of us as incited by national aggrandizement, by political extension,

[1] *Asia and Europe*, p. 98.
[2] Cf. Mr. Fukuzawa's testimony in *Japan Weekly Mail*, May 21, 1898.

by diplomatic success, by military ambition. These adverse thoughts of theirs are no doubt, mitigated by the justice of our laws, by our state education, by the spread of our medical science, by our sanitary arrangements and above all, by our efforts to mitigate or avert famine. But beyond all these, I am bound to mention the effects of the example of the life and of the conduct of the Christian missionaries." [1]

And as has been seen in many lands, missionaries have rendered service to States, their own or others, which have been gratefully recognized as promoting the peace and efficiency of contact between East and West. Mr. Cushing openly acknowledged in 1845 his indebtedness to Dr. Bridgman and Dr. Parker. He wrote to a correspondent:

"It is true that in the late negotiations with China, the most important, not to say indispensable service, was derived from American missionaries, and more especially from Dr. Bridgman and Dr. Parker. They possessed the rare qualification of understanding the Chinese language, which enabled them to act as interpreters to the legation; their intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese made them invaluable as advisers, and their high character contributed to give weight and moral strength to the mission, and while their cooperation with me was thus of eminent utility to the United States it will prove, I trust, not less useful to the general cause of humanity and of religion in the East.

"But the particular service rendered by the American missionaries in this case, is but one of a great class of facts, appertaining to the whole body of Christian missionaries in China.

"In the first place, other legations to China have been equally dependent on the Christian missionaries for the means of intercourse with the Chinese Government, of which well-known examples occur in the history of successive British embassies of Lord Macartney, Lord Amherst, and Sir Henry Pottinger.

"In the second place, the great bulk of the *general* information we possess in regard to China, and nearly the whole of the primary *philological* information concerning the two great languages of the Chinese Empire, namely the Chinese and the Manchu, are derived through the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant."

[Here follows a long list of philological works, prepared by different missionaries.]

"In thus briefly answering your inquiry on a single point in the history of Christian missions, namely, their *incidental* usefulness, permit me to add, that, eminently great as this their incidental utility has been, it is but a small point,

[1] *Independent Testimony Concerning Missionary Work*, p. 9; See Proclamation of Ts'en, Governor of Shan-si, in *Record of Christian Work*, June, 1902, pp. 453f.

comparatively, among the great and good deeds of the religious missionaries in the East. There is not a nobler nor a more deeply interesting chapter than this in the history of human courage, intellect, self-sacrifice, greatness, and virtue; and it remains yet to be written in a manner worthy of the dignity of the subject, and of its relations to civilization and Government, as well as to the Christian Church." [1]

In his report to his Government, which Mr. Reed, the American Minister made regarding the treaty between the United States and China in 1858, after the Arrow War, Mr. Reed bears testimony to the services of the American missionaries:

"I cannot allow this occasion to pass without an incidental tribute to the missionary cause, as I observe it promoted by my own countrymen in China. Having no enthusiasm on the subject, I am bound to say that I consider the missionary element in China a great conservative and protecting principle. It is the only barrier between the unhesitating advance of commercial adventure, and the not incongruous element of Chinese imbecile corruption. The missionary, according to my observation, is content to live under the treaty and the law it creates, or if in his zeal he chooses to go beyond it, he is content to take the risk without troubling his Government to protect him in his exorbitance. But taking a lower and more practical view of the matter, I am bound to say further that the studies of the missionary and those connected with the missionary cause are essential to the interests of our country. Without them as interpreters the public business could not be transacted. I could not but for their aid have advanced one step in the discharge of my duties here, or read, or written, or understood one work of correspondence or treaty stipulations. With them there has been no difficulty or embarrassment. It was the case also in 1844, when Mr. Cushing's interpreters and assistants were all from the same class; in 1853, with Mr. Marshall, and 1854, with Mr. McLane. Dr. Bridgman, who was the principal assistant in all these public duties, still lives in an active exercise of his usefulness; and I am glad of the opportunity of expressing to him my thanks for incidental assistance, and constant and most valuable counsel. My principal interpreter for the spoken language of the north has been the Rev. W. A. P. Martin, of Indiana, of the Presbyterian Board. There is not an American merchant in China (and I have heard of but one English) who can write or read a single sentence of Chinese, and the spoken language is the hideous compound that prevails at the open ports, which has no single merit to recommend it, but suffices to convey the imperious mandates one universally bears to inferiors, or the mutual cravings of ordinary traffic. The missionary tries and succeeds in learning to speak Chinese, or in teaching the Chinese to speak English." [2]

When S. Wells Williams resigned his place as secretary and inter-

[1] Bridgman, *The Missionary Pioneer*, pp. 132f.
[2] *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, pp. 274f.

preter in the American Legation in Peking, Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, replied personally as follows:

"Your official letter of resignation will be officially acknowledged, but I must in acknowledging your letter addressed to myself say that I feel that the service is losing one of its most trusted officers, one whose name and reputation have ever reflected credit upon the position, and upon the country whose officer he was, and whose high personal character will long be remembered with respect and with admiration."

The formal notification of the acceptance of his resignation by the State Department contained the following recognition of Mr. Williams' services to his country and influence in China.

". . . Your knowledge of the character and habits of the Chinese and of the wants and necessities of the people and the Government, and your familiarity with their language, added to your devotion to the cause of Christianity and the advancement of civilization, have made for you a record of which you have every reason to be proud. Your unrivalled Dictionary of the Chinese Language and various works on China have gained for you a deservedly high position in scientific and literary circles. Above all the Christian world will not forget that to you more than to any other man is due the insertion in our treaty with China of the liberal provision for the toleration of the Christian religion."[1]

The Western people who reside for a longer or shorter time in Asia and Africa need the tonic stimulus of the mission to preserve their standard and moral ideal. "In climatic conditions which are a burden to him; in the midst of races in a different and lower stage of development; divorced from the influences which have produced him, from the moral and political environment from which he sprang, the white man does not in the end, in such circumstances, tend so much to raise the level of the races amongst whom he has made his unnatural home, as he tends himself to sink slowly to the level around him."[2] This was written of colonization in the tropics, but the principle of it is true of Western life transplanted anywhere into the East or South. Perhaps this is one explanation of the dislike of the missionary on the part of the mercantile representation from the West in

[1] *The Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams*, p. 412; See also Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 262. "Up to the middle of the last century," says the Hon. John W. Foster, "the Christian missionaries were an absolute necessity to diplomatic intercourse" (Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 111). At the opening in February 1904, of the Anglo-Japanese Museum in Tientsin, Sir Ernest Satow, the British Minister at Peking, said that "of the many classes of people who come to China the missionary was and is most useful."

[2] Kidd, *The Control of the Tropics*, pp. 50f.

Asia, which Lord Curzon finds difficult of understanding.[1] We do not like over-much the presence of the sterner standard and its evident condemnation of our life. Even where there is no immorality on the part of Western peoples in Asia, the missionary's attitude of considerateness and equality towards the people chafes them. But its necessity is only the more evident.

Once again, missions are really the most constructive force at work in the Western propaganda, partly because they alone aim at once at the transformation of character and the establishment of homes on the Christian conception of the family, and partly because they alone underbase Western civilization with right principle and so settle it on secure foundations. The Prince of Wales (now Edward VII) recognized the necessity of this when on his visit to India in 1895, he said to a deputation of missionaries and native Christians, "It is a great satisfaction to me to find my countrymen engaged in offering to our Indian fellow subjects those truths which form the foundation of our own social and political system, and which, we, ourselves, esteem as our most valued possession." As a simple matter of fact, no reproduction anywhere of Christian civilization is possible or has ever been accomplished without the open or tacit acceptance of the Christian principles underlying it. "Wherever there has been the slightest spark of civilization in the South Seas," said James Chalmers, "it has been where the Gospel has been preached."[2] As Prof. Gaston Bonet-Maury confidently asserts, "we have a well founded right to say that the most certain and effective agent of civilization is the missionary."[3]

One of the most experienced and successful missionaries in Africa, Dr. James Stewart, bears similar testimony as to the futility of a purely secular propaganda to do the necessary work of elevation:

"Trade and commerce have been on the west coast of Africa for more than three centuries. What have they made of that region? Some of its tribes are more hopeless, more sunken morally and socially, and rapidly becoming more commercially valueless, than any tribes that may be found throughout the whole of the continent. Mere commercial influence by its example or its teaching during all

[1] *Problems of the Far East*, pp. 418f.
[2] Mackenzie, *Christianity and the Progress of Man*, pp. 138f.
[3] Art. in *Revue des Deux Mondes* quoted in *The Missionary Review of the World*, August, 1904, pp. 612f.

that time has had little effect on the cruelty and reckless shedding of blood and the human sacrifices of the besotted paganism which still exists near that coast.

"It may be said that it is not the direct aim or duty of these commercial influences to civilize or improve morally. There is every reason for believing that they neither can nor wish to do such work, in spite of all belief to the contrary. If a wholesome and beneficial civilization is to be introduced, that can only be done by the introduction and direct teaching of Christianity, and that is best done by Christian missions; and as the scale of the continent is so large, so also would require to be the scale of missionary work.

"The fond belief of many, that the best way to Christianize is to civilize first, consequently falls to the ground. Still this is a delusion which many continue to cherish. It is a curious fact that purely philanthropic or civilizing efforts, even on the west coast of Africa, apart from the spirit of Christian missions have not succeeded. The strongest statement has yet to be made, and it rests on a conclusion gathered from observation and experiment. It cannot be said that civilization sprang out of Christianity; nor yet that civilizations have not existed apart from Christianity; both statements would be untrue. But, speaking of races that have fallen to a certain low level, all modern experience seems to show that they are never truly civilized by the direct processes, hasty methods, or incidental influences of a civilization which settles down among them chiefly for its own ends or private gain.

"This denial of the power of a purely Utilitarian civilization to civilize effectively, beneficially, and permanently, may be rejected by some as resting only on African missionary evidence; and missionary opinion, as some think, is often lacking in breadth and calmness. It requires to be used, however, as it is sometimes all we get. Similar evidence comes from other parts of the world from missionaries who have spent their lives in close contact with these backward races, and it should have some value. From New Guinea there comes the same conclusion as from any part of the African continent. James Chalmers, one of those simple great souls who do their duty and scorn the consequence, even if that should be the loss of life itself, says: 'I have had twenty-one years' experience among natives. I have lived with the Christian native, and I have lived, and dined, and slept with cannibals. But I have never yet met with a single man or woman, or with a single people, that civilization without Christianity has civilized.'

"The truth seems to be this: If we are to try to make a new continent, we must have a new man to put into it, otherwise it will be the old story. We may sweep the house and garnish it with such ideas, inventions, or furniture as the twentieth century can supply. This looks promising, for the twentieth century is great and strong, bold and inventive, confident in its power, and hopeful of far greater things in the time that is coming than have been achieved in the past. Yet with all this there is no guarantee that the renewed continent may not be, if not as bad, yet very little better than before. Such things have happened ere this. Non-Christian civilizations have come to grief, and disappeared off the

face of the earth for want of some essential moral element. Non-spiritual reformations in the case of individual men have allowed them to go back to their old sins, and left them in the end dispirited, broken, and despairing of themselves.

"All the appliances of modern civilization—schools, printing presses, railways, telegraphs. and towns—are excellent and necessary. Many or all of these things can be found to-day in Central Africa, in places the very names of which we did not know thirty years ago. Such things, however, only excite the native's curiosity, they do not move his heart nor touch the springs of action; they are not strong enough to make the new continent, and the new man to live in it. On the indurated mental and moral surface of unbroken heathenism they make little or no abiding impression. They are assigned to witchcraft; or they are put down amongst many other unaccountable doings of these unaccountable men —who are white.

"Here, then, we may reach some conclusions which seem legitimate enough. One is the logical soundness of the missionary principle, and the practical soundness of the general missionary method, which is this—for spiritual ends, spiritual agencies. Another conclusion which may be assumed, if not wholly proved, is that only a Christian civilization, as so far already defined, or one with a religious element, can benefit the people of that continent. And if among the religions of the world we are to choose a power fit, able, strong enough for the work of the moral and spiritual regeneration of a whole continent, we shall find that power in the religion of Jesus Christ, and find it only there."[1]

This is the fact because it is the principle. "The image of Christ remains the sole basis of all moral culture, and in the measure in which it succeeds in making its light penetrate is the moral culture of the nations increased or diminished."[2]

"Statesmen do far less than is supposed," says Mr. Morley, "far less than is implied in their resounding fame, to augment the material prosperity of nations. . . . To improve man's outward condition is not to improve man himself; this must come from each man's endeavour within his own breast; without that there can be little ground for social hope."[3] Sir W. Mackworth Young, K. C. S. I.,

[1] Stewart, *Dawn in the Dark Continent*, pp. 24–28. And the principle which Dr. Stewart sets forth in the case of low people holds as truly of great nations. "The naval and military resuscitation of a great people," says the London *Times*, "presupposes and depends upon their moral regeneration. Without that arms and ships are mere costly encumbrances. It is the man behind the gun, and the man who commands him, that count, and they are the product of a long and moral and intellectual training" (Quoted in *The Presbyterian Banner*, June 30, 1904.)

[2] Quoted by Harnack, *What is Christianity*, p. 133; see Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, Vol. I, pp. 403–465.

[3] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. I, p. 5.

late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in an address at St. Michael's, Cornhill, on March 4, 1902, after referring to the administration of India and the loyalty of the people, gave an estimate of the importance of mission work, of singular significance in its frank assertion of this superiority of moral forces to politics as an uplifting influence. His testimony no one could impugn.

"As a business man speaking to business men I am prepared to say that the work which has been done by missionary agency in India exceeds in importance all that has been done (and much has been done) by the British Government in India since its commencement. Let me take the province which I know best. I ask myself what has been the most potent influence which has been working among the people since annexation fifty-four years ago, and to that question I feel there is but one answer—Christianity, as set forth in the lives and teaching of Christian missionaries. I do not underestimate the forces which have been brought to bear on the races in the Punjab by our beneficent rule, by British justice and enlightenment; but I am convinced that the effect on native character produced by the self-denying labours of missionaries is far greater. The Punjab bears on its historical roll the names of many Christian statesmen who have honoured God by their lives and endeared themselves to the people by their faithful work; but I venture to say that if they could speak to us from the great unseen, there is not one of them who would not proclaim that the work done by men like French, Clark, Newton, and Forman, who went in and out among the people for a whole generation or more, and who preached by their lives the nobility of self-sacrifice, and the lesson of love to God and man, is a higher and nobler work, and more far-reaching in its consequences." [1]

It is futile to hope for the civilization of China and therefore for the accomplishment of the work of the West for her, without Christianity. As one who knows the Chinese as intimately as any foreigner has ever known them, has said, "In the first place, the evils to which the existing social condition is due are deep-seated and ancient, and their roots are intertwined with the whole social system. In the second place, the only impulse towards a serious inquiry into the cause and possible cure of these evils comes from outside the present social system and is directly connected with Christianity. In the third place, these evils can seldom be dealt with directly. It is not enough to introduce new conditions. The 'personal equation' is the largest and most essential factor of all, and without a modification of the individuals who compose society, under any imaginable new

[1] Quoted in *The Punjab Mission News*, April 15, 1902.

condition, the old evils will presently appear with seven other spirits worse than the first. Previous to experience, it would have seemed tolerably safe to predict that it would be easier to modify the social condition of a non-Christian community than to modify its religious condition; but as the result of experience, it appears that it is easier to introduce Christianity, than to alter the type of the current civilization, and that the only permanently successful way to alter the civilization is first to introduce Christianity."[1] Yet some have proposed to withdraw the only conciliating and constructive force at work in China, to demolish the old institutions and ideals by the crash against them of the remorselessly destructive agency of Western trade and secular civilization and then let the ruins alone to recreate themselves.

The relation of missions to the permanence and purity of civilization in India has been admitted repeatedly by those best able to judge. The great moral reforms have been accomplished either by the moral work of the missionaries, or by the pressure their presence and standard of life have exerted upon the Government.[2] The necessity of their work as a supplement and corrective of the theoretically neutral but the actively agnostic influence of the Government education has been recognized. "The present teaching in the Government high schools and colleges," says a lifelong resident of the Punjab, "with its so-called religious neutrality is only throwing a thick veil over the land, hiding from it all true light and life, whilst it is sapping the foundations of all creeds and proving itself to be most destructive to morality and to all good government in this life as well as all hope in the world to come."[3] Another resident of India, the late Bishop Parker of the Methodist Church, wrote: "Concerning teaching in Government schools, the natural result of the system is to destroy religion, to break down feelings of moral obligation and to raise up a proud, unsatisfied, discontented, complaining class."[4] This is not the missionary view alone. "There is an increasing unrest among the classes who have been educated under the Western

[1] *Missionary Review of the World*, Article by the Rev. Arthur H. Smith, D. D., "Foreign Missions and Sociology in China," February, 1895, p. 89.

[2] Young, *Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions*, pp. 90f.

[3] Robert Clarke's testimony in *Special Revised Report on Educational Missions in India*, presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1890, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

system," writes Sir R. Temple,[1] and Sir W. W. Hunter says: "I found from taking the evidence of 193 witnesses throughout India, as President of the Education Commission, that those leaders were unanimous in lamenting the absence of religious teaching in our state schools in every province of the Indian Empire."[2] Seeing no way of escape, some Indian administrations have adopted the policy of getting missions to do for the Government what its theory of neutrality prevented it from doing for itself. In 1887, Lord Dufferin said: "In aided schools religious instruction may, of course, be freely given, and the Governor-General in Council would be sincerely glad if the number of aided schools and colleges in which religious instruction is prominently recognized were largely increased. It is in this direction that the best solution of this difficult problem can be found."[3]

And in a yet larger way, the mission enterprise is indispensable to Great Britain in India.[4] As has been already suggested, the Christians are the only reliably loyal body of the India people, and the only sure ground of Great Britain's continued peaceful tenure of the land is found in its Christianization.[5] The services of the missions in this regard have been officially acknowledged. "The Government of India cannot but acknowledge," said a report of the Secretary of State and Council of India, in moderate language thirty years ago, "the great obligation under which it is laid, by the benevolent exertions made by these 600 missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell."[6] Lord Napier, once Governor of Madras, went further. "It is not easy to overrate the value in this vast Empire," he said, "of a class of Englishmen of pious lives and disinterested labours living and moving in the most forsaken places, walking between the Government and the people, with de-

[1] *Picturesque India*, p. 168.

[2] *Official Revised Report on Educational Missions in India*, presented to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1890, p. 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[4] Seeley, *Expansion of England*, pp. 322f; Julian Hawthorne, "England in India," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, October, 1897.

[5] Speer, *Missions and Politics in Asia*, pp. 103–112.

[6] *Report on The Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed April 28, 1873, p. 129.

votion to both, the friends of right, the adversaries of wrong, impartial spectators of good and evil."

But there is more than this to be said. Western government of the East and Western trade have never been popular. They have not bridged and cannot bridge the racial chasm. The spirit in which they are carried on usually tends to widen that chasm. The only way in which it can be bridged, as Professor Seeley suggested, is by religious sympathy. The mission enterprise is of the deepest philosophic necessity to the Western propaganda. The Eastern Question will always be a religious question. To attempt to solve it with purely secular agencies has always failed, and will always fail. The civilizing of Asia, the temper of mind to accept civilization, the transformation of character, which alone is civilization, patience with what is repellent in Western contact until its better aspects are seen, the success of the purely secular work of our propaganda in Asia—are all dependent upon the enterprise of missions, its success in slowly establishing a religious community, and thus conquering in the one possible way the antipathies of the centuries and bridging the chasms that divide men.[1]

Even Sir Alfred Lyall admits the principle for which I am contending here:

"It is impossible not to admit that in many instances the successful propagation of a superior or stronger creed has been favourable to political amalgamation, nor can there be any doubt of the intense fusing power that belongs to a common religion. In our day, the decree of divorce between religion and politics has been made absolute by the judgment of every statesman, above all for Christian rulers in non-Christian countries; nevertheless, the religion of the Spaniards was a part of their policy in the New World, and this of course is still true in regard to Mohammedans everywhere. There have been many periods, and there are still many countries, in which an army composed of different religious sects could hardly hold together. And it is certain that for ages identity of religious belief has been, and still is in many parts of the world, one of the strongest guarantees of combined action on the battle-field. It has often shown itself far more effective, as a bond of union, than territorial patriotism; it has even surmounted tribal or racial antipathies; and its advantages as a palliative of foreign ascendancy have been indisputable. The attitude of religious neutrality is now manifestly and incontestably incumbent on all civilized rulerships over an alien people; it is a principle that is just, right and politic; but there is nothing in its influence that

[1] Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. I, p. 206, Vol. II, p. 400.

makes for that kind of assimilation which broadens the base of dominion. Religion and intermarriage are the bonds that amalgamate or isolate social groups all the world over, especially in Asia, and their influence for or against political consolidation has lost very little of its efficiency anywhere." [1]

Even if men have no interest in the higher views of the relationship of West and East and do not conceive of Christian civilization as a trust held for the world, but merely wish to find in Asia and Africa and South America markets for their goods, irrespective of the character and advancement of the people with whom they trade, they must still recognize the indispensable service of the missionary and accept his movement as essential to the best interests of theirs. He opens markets for them. "Wherever his errand is, and wherever his teaching is felt, there the way is opened for a widening commerce. Intensity of conviction carries him where the commercial agent gladly follows, but would not lead." [2] "If considered from a commercial point of view," wrote the Hon. T. R. Jernegan when Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai, "missionary work has accomplished advantages to trade which the present awakening of China will soon evidence to be of great practical value. China can no longer sleep. The agencies of a civilization whose progress knows no receding ebb, are busily at work within the Empire. Civil engineers are now mapping the vast territory of China and tracing lines for contemplated railways, aided by the information furnished by the missionary, and closely following his tracks across plains and mountains, and by these tracks, the business man pilots his ventures to the far interior marts. In the absence of the information furnished by the missionary many of the trade marts of China would be still unfamiliar to the merchant and demands for his merchandise confined to much narrower limits. It should be remembered that the ensign of commerce follows close in the wake of the banner of the Cross, and he who would strike down the hand that carries the latter, injures the interest of the former." [3] The evidence that could be produced to show the value of

[1] Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, Second Series, Ch. VII, pp. 384, 385.

[2] Storrs, *Addresses on Foreign Missions*, pp. 38f.; See Article by the Hon. Charles Denby in *The Independent*, December 12, 1901, "The Influence of the Mission Work on Commerce"; *London Conference Report*, Vol. I, pp. 111–137; Lang, *Expansion of the Christian Life*, pp. 139–149; *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, pp. 325–346; *Ely Volume*, Ch. XIX.

[3] Quoted in the *Japan Evangelist*, Vol. IV, No. 6, March, 1897, p. 168; See also letter of Major F. E. Younghusband in *London Times*, November 19, 1901,

missions to commerce is simply unlimited, ranging from testimony like Consul-General Jernegan's and Minister Denby's regarding a great and settled nation to testimony regarding the work of missions in the sheer creation of peaceful markets among degraded or dying peoples, such as Chief Justice Sir Charles St. Julian of Fiji offered regarding the work of the Wesleyan mission there, "If the work done by that society had only been to cause the natives to cast off bad practices and customs, it would have been a very gratifying result, but the mission had built up a kingdom."[1] By establishing peace, and creating, through peace and enlightenment, new wants and new ability to buy; by introducing the manufactures of civilization, by disarming prejudice and destroying superstition, by conciliating those to whom the advantages of foreign trade enjoyed by others are disadvantage and loss, by establishing on solid foundations legitimate human intercourse, the missionaries have rendered to trade the greatest possible services.[2] It is little to contend that in return trade should recognize at least the right of missions to a place in the movement of civilization upon the world. Indeed, it was from religious motives that early trade sprang, and however mistaken the method, it pursued for years the sound principle of regarding itself as a Christian representation of the desire for friendly intercourse and as a means of the extension of the Christian faith. It would be well if once more, the spirit of the Christian mission might be the spirit of the mission of trade; if men who went out to traffic, went in the mind of Edward VI, King of England, as expressed in his letter to the two navigators, Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, starting on a voyage of discovery to Cathay. The letter sets forth the disposition to cultivate the love and friendship of mankind implanted in man by the Almighty and the consequent duty to maintain and augment this desire, and "to show good affection to those who come from farre countries. . . . And if it be right and equity to show such humanitie to all men, doubtlesse the same might chiefly to be shown to merchants who, wandering about the world, search both the land and sea, to carry such good and profitable

and Dr. Brown, *Report on Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Laos and Siam*, pp. 1–5.

[1] Liggins, *Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions*, p. 71.

[2] Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 107f., citing the case of Hawaii.

things as are found in these countries to remote regions and kingdoms, and again to bring from the same such things as they find there commodious for their own countries. . . . For the God of heaven and earth, greatly providing for mankind, would not that things should be found in one region, to the end that all should have need of another; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifye all." This is the spirit in which the commercial movement should proceed. It is a necessary part of the great outward impulse of civilization; the missionary welcomes it as an ally. To be sure it has been repeatedly abused and ten times the allegations and complaints made against missions, including all those made against missions, might be made truthfully against trade. But even acknowledging and lamenting this, its influence has been powerful for good. It ought to be as fair-minded in judging and assisting missions as missions are in recognizing its place and striving to make its influence helpful and righteous.

We have already considered the charge against missions that their influence is subversive and revolutionary.[1] But when a plea is made such as I have just suggested for a recognition of the movement as a legitimate part of the outgoing of civilization, as legitimate as trade, that charge is sure to be revived and it is said that missions make too much trouble, are indeed the utterly unnecessary occasion of war and armed interference. It might be enough to ask in reply, When and where? Modern missions are more than a century old and have never caused one war. It is true that the Christian nations are the warlike nations. "During this century (the nineteenth)," says an American paper, "the Christian nations have done most of the fighting in the world and the worst of it has been among themselves,"[2] but none of it among themselves or with other nations has been caused by Christianity, much less by the missionary propaganda. Even if it had been otherwise, it would not have followed that the wars were wrong and unjustifiable.[3] War after war has been fought for trade

[1] See Faber, *Paul the Apostle in Europe, a Guide to our Mission Work in Asia*, pp. 23–27.

[2] *Saturday Evening Post*, December 23, 1899, p. 544.

[3] Cf. Editorial *New York Times*, "Modernizing Asia," February 4, 1902, and *The Independent*, June 28, 1900, Editorial, "'The Army follows the Missionary,' Yes"; pp. 1571f.; *Ibid.*, September 12, 1901, pp. 2147f., Article by Dr. Ament, "'The Chinese Settlement' once more."

or national honour or ambition, but not one smallest conflict has been caused by missions save where missions have been used to further national greed. The most powerful of all the agencies of the West has wrought for more than a century, destroying and creating, and has done its work in peace, save where political influences have crossed it and confused it, and has gained steadily the good-will and affection of the people among whom its work has been done. Indeed, instead of causing war, it has again and again prevented it. Meinicke, speaking of New Zealand, says: "The incessant wars and massacres, the strangling of slaves, the eating of human flesh have been abolished through the missionaries alone, so far as their influence reaches; and even were their method essentially wrong and their undertaking a failure, they must be honoured for this." And Dr. Warneck in quoting this testimony, adds that of an English Consul, Mr. Prichard, who says, "Among the many happy results which the introduction of the gospel has produced in these islands (Polynesia) no one is more remarkable than the suppression of the constant state of war."[1] If it be said that missions at least are responsible for the Tai-ping Rebellion, it might be replied that on the same principle, the English Deists might be held responsible for the French Revolution, and George Washington for the rebellion of Bolivar and the revolt of South America from Spain; and those who fall back upon the Tai-ping Rebellion as the only war for which they can hold missions responsible, abandon the objection to missions on this ground by practically admitting that they cannot cite one instance where missions involved a Western Government in war with an Eastern people.

I have spoken of the missionary movement as a movement entitled to recognition side by side with trade as a legitimate part of the outgoing of Christendom upon the world. But surely, this is speaking under too much restraint. It is Christianity and Christian missions which in this matter have indisputable and absolute right of precedence. And the facts of the world make missions the supreme movement and leave questionable all others. Some even hold that "whether apart from missions, the West is doing the East more good

[1] Warneck, *Missions and Culture*, pp. 160f; Liggins, *Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions*, p. 55, giving A. R. Wallace's testimony re the Celibes.

than harm is at least an open question." [1] This is a just statement and yet the whole Western movement, with all its evils, must surely be believed, in the will of God, to be working for the good of the world. But that part of it which has first place, which is accomplishing most good and least evil, and lessening the evil and increasing the good of every other part, is the missionary enterprise. As the best of our Western possessions, Christianity, is the first thing we are bound to give to the world. And whether judged by its historic fruits or the principles on which it rests, the movement which aims to give it to the world is entitled to the most honourable place in the outmoving of Christendom upon the less privileged world.[2] Well would it be for the world, both East and West, if Christian missions were allowed to do their work first and unimpeded.[3] That they are not allowed to do so, Lord Salisbury acknowledges, constitutes an obligation on the part of Governments, to do what can be done to offset the evils which prevent them from doing their work unhindered. Speaking at the Bi-Centenary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, June 19, 1900, he said: "In the Church of old times, great evangelists went forth to this work, exposed themselves to fearful dangers and suffered all the terrors that the world could inflict in support of the doctrines which they preached and the morality which they practiced. There was no doubt at the same time, a corrupt society calling itself by their name. But . . . the means of communication were not active and were not as they are now, and things might go on without attracting the attention of those who listened to the teaching of the earlier teachers or diminishing the value of their work. Now things are considerably altered, and that very increase in the means of communication, that very augmentation of the power of opinion to affect opinion and of man to affect man by the mere conquests we have achieved in the material domain; those very conquests, while undoubtedly they are . . . an invitation from Providence to take advantage of the means of spreading the gospel, are also a means by which the lives of many

[1] Clarke, *A Study of Christian Missions*, p. 243; Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 397.

[2] Foster, *The Civilization of China*, p. 7; Storrs, *Addresses on Foreign Missions*, p. 40; *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, p. 359.

[3] Montgomery, *Foreign Missions*, p. 132; Young, *Success of Christian Missions*, p. 225.

and the acts of many, which are not wholly consistent with the ideal which is preached in the pulpit or read in the Holy Book, are brought home to the vast nations which we seek to address. That is one of the great difficulties with which we have to contend, and that is the reason why this society and all missionary societies appeal with undoubted force and with the right to have their appeal considered —that as our civilization in its measure tends to hamper missionary efforts, so in its nobler manifestations and its more powerful efforts that civilization, represented by our assistance, shall push forward to its ultimate victory, the cause to which you are devoted." [1]

But just as such an expectation on the part of missions of such political sympathy and support would be, the movement asks no such aggressive assistance. If regarded as entitled to the same rights and privileges as other branches of the propaganda of Christendom, it is content.[2] It might ask more, and I believe it is the duty of Christian States to do more. It is not their duty to carry on a religious propaganda, but it is their duty to adhere to their own convictions and to appear to the world as Christian States, evading no declaration of principle and asserting boldly their recognition of Christian faith and their obligation to it. What the Queen said in her proclamation to India after the Mutiny should be as boldly said in principle by all the States of Christendom in dealing with the East and their conduct should be made to conform to such a profession. No Christian Government is justified in saying what was said in the Treaty which we made with Tripoli in 1796, "The Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion, as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquillity of Mussulmans. . . . No pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries." It may be believed that such a position as that would not be taken to-day.

Indeed, the United States Supreme Court has unequivocally asserted the contrary view. In the decision in the Alien Labour Contract Law case, February 29, 1892, the Court, through Justice

[1] Quoted in *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, July, 1900, pp. 547–549.

[2] *Missions at Home and Abroad*, p. 459; *Ecumenical Conference Report*, Vol. I, p. 341; *Report Eighth Conference of Foreign Mission Boards of United States and Canada*, 1901, pp. 89–96; Colquhoun, *China in Transformation*, p. 164; Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 156.

Brewer, declared that the law in question could not be operative in the case under consideration—that of a minister brought over to New York, on the broad ground that "no purpose of action against religion can be imputed to any legislation, state or national, because this is a religious people." What religion was meant the Court declared with equal plainness. It quoted decisions to the effect that Christianity is and always has been a part of the common law of States like Pennsylvania, that the Government is not neutral as towards all religions, because we are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity, and not upon the doctrines or worship of impostors like Mohammed and the Grand Lama. Passing to the view of American life as expressed in the laws, its business, its customs and its society, the decision finds "everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth." "Among other matters," it says, "note the following: The form of oath universally prevailing concluding with an appeal to the Almighty; the custom of opening sessions of all deliberative bodies and most conventions with prayer; the prefatory words of all wills, 'In the name of God. Amen'; the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath, with the general cessation of all secular business and the closing of courts, legislatures and other similar assemblies on that day; the churches and church organizations which abound in every city, town and hamlet; the multitude of charitable organizations existing everywhere under Christian auspices; the gigantic missionary associations with general support and aiming to establish Christian missions in every quarter of the globe. These and many other matters which might be noticed add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation." [1] There is no higher judicial authority in America to which to appeal. If the judgment of the Supreme Court is to be accepted, this land must be regarded as a Christian nation, and we are justified in dealing with its duties towards the world on this basis.

The nation rests on the Christian religion and it and the rest of Christendom in dealing with the East should not fear to confess its faith. It is in a real sense treasonable for it by treaty to deny what another part of the Western movement upon Asia is endeavouring to establish. And the individual agents of the Christian States in Asia

[1] 143 *United States Supreme Court Reports*, pp. 457ff.

should represent them as Christian States. It cannot be asked that the diplomatic service should be made an adjunct of the missionary movement, but the best interest of the world and of the outgoing of Christendom require that the men who represent the West in the East in trade or politics, should be men who believe in the higher duty of West to East and who do not betray the civilization they go out to represent.[1] The appointment of drunkards and debauchees to represent America in Asia and South America is an insult to the nation and treason to its duty in the world. Sir Donald McLeod's conviction regarding England and India applies to all dealings of the West with the outside world: "The prayers and exertions of a Christian people are required to press on the Government the necessity of doing everything a Government legitimately can do to promote the progress of Christianity and a sound morality throughout India, whether they can take a direct part in spreading the former or not. Above all, they should be urged to send out Christian rulers, men who are faithful and are not ashamed of the gospel."[2] Townsend Harris was the type of man required and what he accomplished for his country and the world in Japan is illustrative of what the intercourse of West and East might have been if all our representatives had been like him.[3]

The missionary movement does not wish to be entangled with forces which too often act in divergence from Christian principle. It seeks only as free an opportunity as possible to do its own work of planting in individual character and in family life the new life of the Gospel. The rest, it knows, will follow in due time. It does desire that every other agency at work in transforming the backward nations should work harmoniously with it and should recognize the principle of an unselfish service as the law of all intercourse of nations and races, and of men.[4] It knows that it possesses not only, as Lord Salisbury expressed it, "one of the most powerful and one of the most sacred levers that ever acted upon opinion,"[5] but the most

[1] Johnston, *A Century of Christian Progress*, Ch. VII.

[2] Morris, *Anglo-Indian Worthies*, p. 136; See *New York Sun*, August 7, 1902, Mr. Fortescue's testimony re American officers.

[3] Griffis, *Townsend Harris*, pp. 223f; Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, pp. 177f.

[4] *Japan–American Commercial Journal*, March, 1900, p. 33.

[5] *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, July, 1900, p. 549.

powerful and most sacred. What Professor Seeley describes as "the most characteristic work" of the British Empire and a work sufficiently revolutionary surely, namely, "the introduction in the midst of Brahmanism of European views of the Universe,"[1] the work of missions is doing everywhere with a power immeasurably greater than the power of politics or trade, and is doing also so much else that this particular work becomes incidental and secondary.

And as to the final issue the missionary movement entertains no doubt. It listens to the most intelligent statements of the hopelessness of its task of achieving for civilization the unity of the world. "I shall be told," says Mr. Townsend, "that the spread of Christianity, which is inevitable, will extinguish, probably very speedily, the separateness of Asia and with it all its consequences. Will it? Let us look at that belief a little closely and without preconceived ideas. I do not find in history that a common Christianity in any degree removes hatreds of race or nationality or prevents continued outbreaks of bitter hostilities, but we may let that pass. What is the real ground for believing that Asia will accept Christianity? Certainly there is no historic ground, no Asiatic nation of any importance can be said to have accepted it in the last 1,700 years. The Asiatic race which knows the creed best and has had the strongest reasons for accepting it, reasons which prevailed with the Germans and the Slavs when pagan, still rejects it with a certain silent but very perceptible scorn. What has changed in Asia that the future should be so unlike the past? There are more teachers no doubt, but there are not one-tenth or one one-hundredth so many as have endeavoured through the ages in vain to convert the Jew. It is said that Christ gave an order to His disciples to teach all nations: that is true and I for one believe the order to be binding; that the Christian Church which sends out no missionaries is a dead Church; but where in the record has Christ promised to those missionaries universal success? Is it not at least possible that the missionaries carry in their hands the offer of eternal life, which a few accept while the rest 'perish everlastingly'; that is, die like the flowers or the dumb animals of God? This much, at least, is certain, that for 1,800 years, it has been no part of the policy of heaven,—I write with reverence though I use non-Christian terminology—to convert Asiatics en masse, and

[1] *Expansion of England*, p. 284.

there is no proof that this want of divine assistance to the teachers may not continue for an equal period in the future. The truth is that the Asiatics, like the Jews, dislike Christianity, see in it an ideal they do not love, a promise that they do not desire, and a pulverizing force which must shatter their civilizations. Eternal consciousness! That to the majority of Asiatics is not a promise but a threat. The wish to be rid of consciousness, either by annihilation or by absorption in the Divine is the strongest impulse they can feel. Though Asiatic in origin, Christianity is the least Asiatic of the creeds. Its acceptance would revolutionize the position of woman, which is the same throughout Asia; would profoundly modify all social life and would place by the side of the spiritual dogma, 'thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' which every Asiatic accepts in theory, the far-reaching ethical dogma, 'and thy neighbour as thyself,' which he regards as an intolerable burden. I doubt too whether the beauty of the character of Christ appeals to the brown races as it does to the white, whether they feel His self-suppression for others as Clovis and his warriors felt it, as something altogether more beautiful and ideal than their own range of conception. However that may be, it is clear that while the Asiatic can be wooed to a change of creed, as witness the success of both Buddhism and Mohammedanism, whose teachings are radically opposed to each other, they have not been and are not equally moved to embrace Christianity. If they ever take to it, it will be from some internal and self-generated movement of thought and not from any influence of Europe." [1]

What is true in this view, does not need to be answered. And there is much truth in it. There is also error and to that error, I hope that the evidence presented here, of life in Asia, of movements of thought which may be called self-generated and are the more hopeful if they are so, but which are yet the product of the religious influence of the West, will be a sufficient reply. And all these great upheavings, some so sad and ruinous, some so hopeful and prophetic, and some so rich in completed achievement and realization are but the first stirrings of the new life. Looking upon them from the standpoint of the philosophic historian, the friend of missions and of man listens unmoved to every prediction of defeat, to every assertion of the inaccessibility of the Asiatic spirit to the influence of Chris-

[1] *Asia and Europe*, pp. 34–36.

tianity and the civilization which is its child, and answers in the words of the geographer Meinicke: "It is scarcely possible to deny the extraordinary importance of the missionary efforts of our time; they are yet really in their infancy; yet it is certain that they will wholly transform the nature and the relations of the un-Christian peoples and will thereby produce one of the most magnificent and most colossal revolutions that human history contains." [1]

[1] Quoted by Warneck, *Missions and Culture*, p. 153.

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